The Outlook

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THE STORY OF THE WAR: ON THE RUMANIAN AND RUSSIAN FRONTS

Rumania, last of the nations to enter the war, finds her territory a storm center in the vast and complicated struggle which bids fair to lead to decisive issues in the eastern section of the world war. She is now fighting on three battle-lines, is both attacking and defending, and is also both invaded and an invader. The German claim at the beginning of our week (September 29 to October 4), that a disaster of first magnitude had fallen upon the Rumanian army in Transylvania, was not fully confirmed by the later despatches. There is no doubt that General von Falkenhayn, the former German Chief of Staff, did strike a severe blow against the Rumanian forces near the town of Hermannstadt, in Transylvania; but while the Germans made many prisoners, took a number of guns, and broke the Rumanian front immediately opposed to them, driving the Rumanians to the Red Tower Pass in the Transylvanian Alps, there was no crushing defeat on a large scale, such as was first claimed. The main Rumanian position in Transylvania was not abandoned, and the latest despatches before us indicate that in that quarter the Rumanians are again scoring successes and have no idea of abandoning the large section of Transylvania they have occupied.

Hardly had the German note of triumph over the success of General von Falkenhayn been heard when there came another important report from Rumania. It announced that the Rumanian army had invaded Bulgaria, crossing the Danube at a point not very far east from the town of Rustchuk. The size of this invading army is not known; it has been put at twenty thousand, but this would seem a rather small force for the purpose. This purpose unquestionably was to strike from the west at the forces of General von Mackensen which have been operating in the Dobrudja; and, in combination with Russian and Rumanian forces coming south through the Dobrudja, to drive General von Mackensen out of the field which he entered so quickly after Rumania came into the war, and for the moment with such sensational success. The Rumanian invasion of Bulgaria was followed by an unconfirmed rumor that General von Mackensen has ordered the evacuation of the Danube fortress towns of Silistria and Turtukai. On the other hand, Berlin on October 4 declared that the invading Rumanians had been forced to withdraw.

The employment of such famous and vigorous leaders as Mackensen and Falkenhayn against Rumania shows that Germany believes in the vital importance of striking terrific blows in the eastern campaign before her enemies there have tightened the semicircle of armies which is threatening Bulgaria and Austria. But most military critics believe that the Teuton situation is now such that Germany cannot strike a tremendous blow at one point without weakening others. Thus the attack on one part of the Rumanian position in Transylvania was instantly followed by a renewal of Russian successes in Galicia. In this drive towards Lemberg and towards Kovel Russia made valuable gains and captured thousands of prisoners. Later there were reports that the Russian successes in this vicinity had been checked by counter-attacks, but beyond doubt the very heavy fighting in the region of the Zlota Lipa River southeast of Lemberg, and also on the line which extends westward from Lutzsk towards Kovel, has, as a whole, inflicted serious damage on the Austro-German armies. General Brusiloff may be trusted to seize every opportunity to hit the weakest point of the enemy's position. It is significant that the despatches which immediately preceded the heavy fighting in Galicia stated that "the Austro-German lines in Russia and Macedonia have been stripped to give troops to von Falkenhayn on the Rumanian front, and the Allies are taking advantage of this weakness."

MACEDONIA, BULGARIA AND THE WEST

Similar activity has been seen, and probably for the same cause, in the forward movements of the Allies in that extended

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front which is based on Salonika and is threatening Macedonia and Bulgaria. The Servians especially have distinguished themselves in this field, and the combined forces have made positive headway in their movement toward Monastir on their western wing, and also in driving back the Bulgarians on the eastern end of the line. It is evident, if the Allies' plans work out with reasonable success, that the advance from Salonika north, the advance of Russia and Rumania south through the Dobrudja, and the Rumanian advance in Transylvania will form connecting links in such an extended and formidable movement that Germany and Austria will find their general position in the Balkans hardly tenable. The Allies' advance from Salonika has so far been slow and can hardly be said to be more than begun. One reason ascribed for this is the still doubtful position of Greece, which has for weeks hovered on the brink of announcing her intention to fight Bulgaria and to assist the Allies, but is even now politically in a confused and hesitating state.

During the week the British advance in the Somme region was continuous, though slow. The British troops encircled the village of Le Sars, which is only four miles southwest of Bapaume, and took the village of Eaucourt l'Abbaye, both positions of value in the future advance. The record of the French forces for the week was very similar. Bit by bit positions are being occupied north of Combles, and important German positions are being "pocketed" by advances on each side.

Verdun is almost forgotten, because attention has centered on the Somme. It is interesting to note that General Joffre at the end of September, in a general order, mentions as some of the results of the recent campaign: "Verdun relieved, twenty-five villages reconquered, more than 35,000 prisoners and 150 cannon taken, successive enemy lines broken through for a depth of ten kilometers—such are the results already obtained."

ZEPPELINS AND SUBMARINES

Still another attack upon London and its vicinity by Zeppelins is to be recorded. It took place on October 2, and was the fourth attack of this kind to be made in a month. The story of the air raid as told by cable is in most respects like the stories of former attacks. Ten German air-ships crossed the Channel, dropped bombs almost aimlessly over the eastern part of England, chiefly in Lincolnshire, with very little damage, while at least one of the Zeppelins reached the north part of London only to be brought down in flames within sight of thousands of spectators, whether by a gunshot from the ground or by the attack of a British aeroplane is not stated. The great air-ship as it burned lighted the sky for miles around by its flames, and its crew, without exception, met a terrible death. The actual damage in life and property from this raid was decidedly less, we judge, than that last previously recorded.

Rumors continue to appear from time to time that Germany may renew her illicit and piratical submarine warfare on non-combatants and merchant ships. Our State Department is reported as feeling sure that these rumors are unfounded; but it must also know that Germany's present abstinence from piracy rests, not upon a permanent agreement, much less on any recognition of law or humanity, but upon a temporary and conditional declaration from which it is at perfect liberty to withdraw at any time. Until Germany is brought to admit the justice and right of the American protests, which have been vigorous verbally and yet weaker than water because unsupported by deeds, that particular form of "frightfulness" is always a possibility. Our Administration may see no threat in the words of Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg the other day that "a German statesman would not hesitate to use against this enemy every available instrument of battle that would shorten the war," but others will consider these words a clear and intentional menace.

Have the Germans, in point of fact, abstained from undersea warfare?

Figures have been given out in Washington as coming from good sources in England showing that between June 1 and September 24 two hundred and seventy-seven vessels of all nationalities have been sunk by submarines. The number includes sixty-six neutral vessels, and it is said that fifteen were reported sunk without warning, with a loss of eighty-four lives. Of course the exact circumstances in each case are difficult to ascertain, and some of the allegations made have been flatly denied by Germany. The statement, however, makes it apparent that, while the German submarines are avoiding attack on passenger steamers, they are constantly violating the law of the seas as regards other ships,

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and that they are interpreting their claim that a ship must stop for search upon any signal from a submarine far beyond any reasonable limits even in their own view of the law.

Another interesting item regarding submarines also comes from England by way of Washington. It says that between thirty and forty naval submarines have actually been captured in the steel meshes of huge nets and have been brought to the naval port of Rosyth. How many submarines have been destroyed altogether by British guns and by the nets is a matter of conjecture, but it is undoubtedly large. The nets are now said to extend down into the water for one hundred and eighty feet, and to be armed with explosive bombs and contact mines. A curious rumor is that two German merchant submarines named Bremen have been captured, one by the English, the other by the French, and it is even asserted that a third Bremen is now on its way to this country. The British Government has maintained complete silence regarding the alleged captures, but there have been some circumstantial stories to the effect that the original submarine named Bremen was captured in the Straits of Dover in a steel net on August 2.

THE GERMAN CHANCELLOR AND THE ENGLISH MINISTER OF WAR ON THE SITUATION

On the very day upon which the German Chancellor, von Bethmann Hollweg, delivered his important address to the German Reichstag, namely, September 29, the English Secretary of State for War, Mr. Lloyd George, put forth through an interview his views on the same general subjects—the relations of the Allies to their enemies and the possibility of peace in the future. A comparison of the two utterances leaves the reader with the feeling that the fierce and desperate struggle is by no means nearing its end.

The Chancellor laid great stress on the fact that a plentiful harvest had allayed the "pusillanimous anxiety" of last winter as to the foodstuff question in Germany; he talked at length of the intrigues and vacillations of the Balkan countries, soundly berating the Rumanian Premier, Bratiano, for his "Judas-like treason and alleged double-dealing;" he denied that the German Emperor had in the past used his influence with the Russian Czar to impede Russia's looking towards liberty; but he gave a very slight and sketch-like account of the military situation, and there was lacking the note of exultation and certainty which marked the Chancellor's former speeches. There was more of rhetoric than of reasoning in the address. What, for instance, does it signify to say, "We wish to protect Germany forever against every attack," or to declare that the motives of the Allies are—for France, "revenge;" for Russia, "lust of conquest;" for England, "the policy of dominating the whole world." In adjectives the Chancellor's speech was redundant, but in demonstration it was deficient. He characterized Great Britain as Germany's "most egotistical, fiercest, and most obstinate enemy." As to the final outcome, the Chancellor merely asserted that "there is only one watchword—namely, persevere and win." What terms of peace Germany would seriously consider is not indicated at all in this address.

Turning to Mr. Lloyd George's interview, one finds a familiar, informal talk, couched in plain, simple language, sometimes in terms even of sport, and without the least attempt at rhetoric. "Britain has only begun to fight," he said, and he put the situation in the terms of business by saying: "The British Empire has invested thousands of its best lives to purchase humanity for civilization. This investment is too great to be thrown away." The British soldier, Mr. Lloyd George declares, "is a good sportsman, fighting for fair play in international dealings." With this plucky attitude he contrasted the attitude of the German soldiers when they were winning and were in thought remaking the map of Europe and caring nothing for human considerations or the laws of war. He declared his belief that "the fight must be to the finish," but not merely for vengeance, for he added:

> The inhumanity, the pitilessness, of the fighting that must come before a lasting peace is possible is not comparable with the cruelty that would be involved in stopping the war while there remains a possibility of civilization again being menaced from the same quarter. Peace now or at any time before the final and complete elimination of this menace is unthinkable. No man and no nation with the slightest understanding of the temper of this citizen army of Britons, which took its terrible hammering without a whine or grumble, will attempt to call a halt now.

Mr. Lloyd George paid a splendid tribute to the determination of France and her magnificent self-sacrifice and fiercely burning

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patriotism. "Both France and Russia," he said, "will go through to the death. There are and will be no quitters among the Allies. 'Never again' has become our battle cry. . . . We have no delusion that the war is nearing an end. We haven't the slightest doubt as to how it is to end."

The German Chancellor's address last December was generally regarded as a bid for peace, but on terms which the Allies refused even to think of for a moment. Now, with Germany in a far worse position than she was then, he avoids the peace problem. Why? Because the spirit of Lloyd George's "fight to a finish" talk is the purpose of the Allies; they will not bargain about territory while the threat of German world autocracy still survives.

LORD BRYCE TO THE CONGREGATIONALISTS

On October 3, before the Congregational Union in London, Viscount Bryce, former Ambassador at Washington, made an address which is likely to be quoted from in the future. His subject was "Hate."

To avoid hate there should be established a machinery for preserving peace. This, affirmed Lord Bryce, would be impossible without the co-operation of neutral states, and especially of the greatest of all neutral states. As reported, he said:

> We have been waiting and watching to see whether America would, in view of the immense interests at stake, . . . bear her part in the efforts for securing a permanent alliance for peace. An influential league [the League to Enforce Peace] for that purpose has already been formed there, and now two momentous events have happened on which I dwell because they have been little noticed here.

One of the two events was President Wilson's address four months ago (see The Outlook for June 7, 1916), described by Lord Bryce as "powerful and luminous." In this speech the statement was made that the United States would not stand aloof from a movement concerning the highest interests of mankind, followed by the statement that the American people, in Mr. Wilson's opinion, were prepared to join in any feasible scheme for the prevention of future wars.

The second event was when Mr. Hughes, in accepting the nomination as Republican candidate for the Presidency, declared that the time had come for America to unite with European countries in a well-considered scheme for applying methods of arbitration and conciliation in securing general and permanent peace in the world.

Thus "the heads of the two great American parties, distinguished men and the official exponents of American opinion, have promised the co-operation of their Nation in this project—one of great difficulty no doubt, but also of supreme importance."

Then Lord Bryce appealed to the Congregationalists to bring this matter before the English people and to show them how much they and every nation have to gain "by removing the terror and the danger of war which so long has hung like a black cloud over Europe." He proceeded:

> The churches could do no more truly Christian work. Let not this war have been fought in vain. Let us search for and try to put in practice some scheme for reducing and, if possible, at last for ending this oldest and most terrible scourge of mankind.

Lord Bryce, saying what Lloyd George had said in his interview we have reported above, but saying it with different emphasis, declared that the war must be prosecuted to victory so complete as to open the prospect of an enduring peace, but that the spirit of hatred must be repressed. Though "we are justly indignant at the war the enemy Powers have waged," and though victory must warn the world that barbarous methods must never be resorted to again, "and that those guilty of them will be punished, is it wise to talk of banning a whole people for all time to come?" Lord Bryce continued:

> The German people are under a harsh and tyrannous rule, which has not only deceived and misled them, but silences any protest—and there are those who wish to protest—against its crime. Some day, we hope, they will overthrow it, when they have learned the truth.
>
> To indulge in revenge will be to sow the seeds of future wars. Nations cannot hate one another forever, and the sooner they cease to do so the better for all of them. We must take all proper steps to defend ourselves from any dangers that might arise if after the war the enemy countries were to resume an insidious hostility. That is at present no more than a possibility which may never arise.

Finally, the speaker turned his attention to the application of revenge to trade. He said:

> The talk we now hear about starting, after peace has been concluded, a new war of trade to follow the war of arms, has immense capaci-

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ties for mischief. Such a trade war would prolong, would embitter afresh, those hatreds that ought to be allowed to die, and it assumes a continuance of those very things from which we expect our victory to deliver us once for all.

Our main purpose will have failed if we do not secure a durable peace. To prolong hatreds would increase suspicion, would lead in time to a recurrence of those very calamities from which we are suffering. If severe terms have to be imposed, let that be done only so far as is necessary for securing future peace, not in a vindictive spirit, which in perpetuating hatreds would end by relighting the flames of war.

MR. WILSON'S WEEKLY SPEECH

On Shadow Lawn, his summer residence near Long Branch, New Jersey, President Wilson made his second Saturday speech on September 30. It was addressed to a delegation of young Democrats, and it was a vigorous speech of an avowed partisan. He gloried in the history and record of the Democratic party, which, he pointed out, had had a continuous existence from the early days of the Nation, had outlived the Federalist, the Whig, and the Progressive parties, and, he predicted, would outlive the Republican.

The reason for this continuous existence of the party to which he belongs he found in the fact that it upheld "government of the people by themselves and their own representatives." He placed in contrast the spirit of the Republican party, which he regarded as being essentially the same as that of the Federalist and the Whig parties, arising from a belief in government by the few—"limited control of the affairs of the Nation by those who have the biggest material stake in the prosperity of the country." He condemned the Republican party as now constituted because it believes "in government by the attorneys of special interests." On this ground he attacked the Republican doctrine of protection.

In very different vein he characterized the Progressive party. His praise of that party was almost unqualified. He attributed to it "the real red blood of human sympathy" and a willingness "to work for mankind and forget the interests of a narrow party." He declared himself to be as progressive as the Progressives, and not only himself but his party.

He warned his hearers against the foreign policy of his opponents. "All our present foreign policy is wrong, they say, and if it is wrong and they are men of conscience they must change it," declared the President; "and if they are going to change it, in what direction are they going to change it? There is only one choice as against peace, and that is war."

In respect to Mexico, he charged that the Republican party's policy, so far as he could find, was determined after consultation with "the counselors for the vested interests in Mexico. . . . There is no concealment, even by themselves, whose attorneys they are. They have talked to me. . . . I know exactly what they want. I have declined to give it to them, and now they are going where they think they can get it." And to this the President added words that recall what he said at the time of the Panama tolls issue, when he pleaded with Congress on the ground that he did not know what would happen to our foreign relations if Congress did not pass the law he asked for. These are his significant words now:

> There is a more serious aspect even than that. There is an immediate result of this thing, my fellow-citizens. From this time until the 7th of November it is going to be practically impossible for the present Administration to handle any critical matter concerning our foreign relations, because all foreign statesmen are waiting to see which way the election goes, and, in the meantime, they know that settlements will be inconclusive.
>
> The conference which is being held with regard to Mexican affairs is embarrassed every day by the apparent evidence which is being produced that hostility to Mexico is being traded upon by one of the great political parties. These gentlemen may reconcile these influences with patriotic purpose, but it is difficult for all of us to do so.

The President, therefore, did not hesitate to appeal once more to those in this country who regard it as of the first importance to avoid trouble.

THE HUGHES MEETING AT THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB

By all odds the most picturesque, if not the most significant, political event of the past week was the Republican meeting in honor of Mr. Hughes at the Union League Club in New York City.

Newspaper headlines featured it as a reconciliation between the two ex-Presidents—Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Taft. The real significance of it, however, lay in the fact that many men who have differed radically with

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one another on certain aspects of domestic policy, and even more radically on certain questions of political morality and methods of political organization and control, found themselves drawn together by the question of Nationalism, and particularly by that question as it has been raised by perils in our foreign relations. It was this principle of Nationalism that was the common subject of the three principal speeches of the evening.

Mr. Taft likened the present campaign to that of 1896, in that both campaigns involved a question of honor and integrity, and he warned his fellow-countrymen that when the war in Europe is over we may have to answer for our intermeddling in Mexico. "I do not," said Mr. Taft, "consider that keeping us out of war." He concluded with one of his characteristically playful remarks: "I may say incidentally also that we are holding one of those exceptional meetings of the ex-Presidents' club. It has not a large membership, and the members do not always, or perhaps ever, entertain completely harmonious views. But there is one subject upon which we are unanimous to a point that I can't exaggerate, and that is, we are going to elect in November another member of that club." This reference to the Republicans' hope for the defeat of Mr. Wilson evoked from the other member of the ex-Presidents' club the heartiest kind of applause.

Mr. Roosevelt's speech on this occasion was not, perhaps, as comprehensive as the one he had delivered the Saturday before at Battle Creek, Michigan, but it was the more incisive from the very fact that it was more informal. "Mr. Wilson's speech last Saturday," said Mr. Roosevelt, "was an invitation to foreign Powers to do whatever they wished, because if he were in power they need not be afraid." And he contrasted Mr. Wilson's earlier declaration that if the essential American rights were invaded by any nation, that invasion must be met by prompt challenge and resistance, with his appeal for re-election on the ground that he would keep the country out of war. In the light of Mr. Wilson's speech of last Saturday Mr. Roosevelt said that by "prompt challenge and resistance" the President means "tapping his adversary on the wrist." And the same appeal to Nationalism Mr. Roosevelt made in dealing with the so-called Eight-Hour Law when he said:

> I believe in labor unions—I am an honorary member of one myself—but I believe first of all in the great Union to which all of us belong, the Union of the United States of America.

The principal speech of the evening, of course, was that by Mr. Hughes, and the most significant passage in it was that in which he answered Mr. Wilson's declaration that to the Democratic policy of peace the Republicans had only one alternative to present, namely, war. This was Mr. Hughes's answer:

> We have heard in recent days that the alternative of the policy of the present Administration is war. I think the alternative of the policy of the present Administration is peace with honor.
>
> I am a man devoted to the pursuits of peace. We cherish the ideals of peace. . . . We are not exploiters, but we are Americans, and American rights must be maintained throughout the world. . . . That is the essential basis of our peace. We . . . are not courting struggle, but I do say with all seriousness that we have been living in a period of National humiliation.
>
> Our citizens have been murdered, their property destroyed, and our commerce interrupted. The alternative of a weak and vacillating policy is not war; it is a firm insistence upon known rights in a world where all nations desire our friendship and we desire the friendship of all, and where only the most inexcusable blundering could drag us into strife.

SENATOR CLARKE

Independent in thought, rugged in the expression of his ideas, most frank and open in conversation, regarded with respect by his political opponents, James P. Clarke, United States Senator from Arkansas, who died on October 1 at the age of sixty-two, was for the past dozen years one of the most vigorous personalities and prominent Democrats in public life.

Within the last year or so his name has been associated with particularly independent action. He was openly rebellious when the President tried to force through Congress the Ship Purchase Bill; and one of the last acts of his public life was to decline to sign the Eight-Hour Bill, which passed the Senate when he was temporary Chairman. His name was made particularly famous by the Clarke Amendment to the Philippine Bill. This amendment, if passed, would have almost certainly insured the abandonment of the Philippines by the United States Government within a very few years. His position was the logical one from the anti-imperialist

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CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

Baldridge in the First Illinois Cavalryman (issued weekly in the field)

"ALL DRESSED UP AND NO PLACE TO GO"

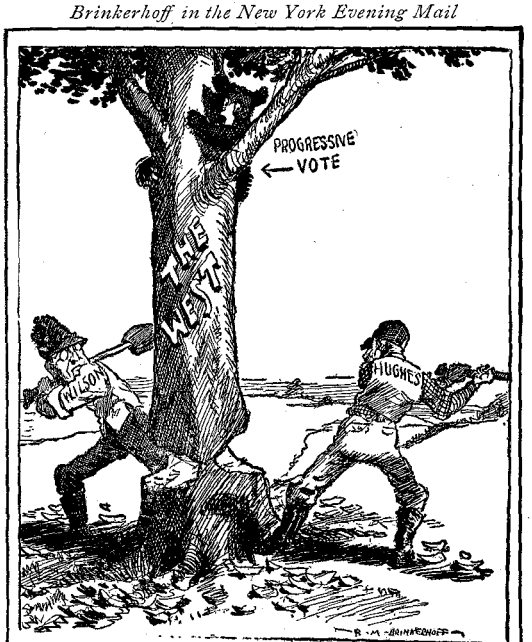
WANTED—A FEW VICTIMS

Knott in the Dallas (Texas) News

DISTURBING THE PEACE COMMISSION

WANTED—SOMEBODY TO SQUELCH VILLA

Brinkerhoff in the New York Evening Mail



WHICH WAY WILL IT FALL?

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WHO WILL CAPTURE THE PRIZE?

Racey in the Montreal Daily Star

THE SPIRIT OF THEIR FOREFATHERS
Vivent les Canadiens-Français!

A TRIBUTE TO THE FRENCH-CANADIANS

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CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

From Le Pêle-Mêle (Paris)

GERMANS PREPARING FOR PEACE
(AS SEEN BY THE FRENCH)

"You have a preoccupied air, Herr Doctor!"
"Yes, I am drafting a law to prevent foreigners from copying our fashions after the war."

A NEEDLESS PRECAUTION

Esmond in the Sketch (London)

A REVERSE

Mrs. Bird: "Lawks, Mr. Beaky, what *has* happened to you?"
Mr. Beaky: "Why, I saw one of those aeroplane birds flying upside down, and tried to do the same!"

EMULATION OF THE INVADERS OF THE AIR

From the New York Tribune

AT LAST!

WILL THE GREEK KING ACCEPT THE SWORD?

From The People (London)

ANXIOUS MOMENTS

M. Venizelos: "If you don't give him his head, sire, you'll be thrown. I've warned you before."

A NEEDED WARNING

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point of view, and it was one which many of those who believed in the retention of the Philippines were tempted to take in view of recent incompetence in dealing with the administration of those islands. Fortunately, the amendment was defeated, and the policy of pessimism and unfaith was defeated with it. Nevertheless, in some respects Senator Clarke's position commanded more respect than that of men who wanted in their hearts to get rid of the Philippines but had not the courage to say so.

Senator Clarke was not in high favor with the Administration. This is perhaps because the Administration was not altogether in high favor with Senator Clarke.

His death will make it necessary for the Senate to elect a new Chairman *pro tempore*.

DAIRY FARMERS ON STRIKE

After its diminishing epidemic of car strikes, sympathetic strikes, brewery strikes, ferry strikes, barbers' strikes, and others, more numerous than successful, New York City last week suffered from a strike of dairy farmers against the great distributing companies which in New York stand between the milk producers and the retail and smaller wholesale dealers. Milk is, above all, the children's food. A strike or quarrel as to prices which should actually cut off New York's supply of milk is even more terrible to contemplate than one which should cut off street car traffic. Fortunately, the reduction in the supply from normal was probably less than fifty per cent, and all parties concerned took pains to see that hospitals and families with children should not suffer.

As we write, a compromise involving a slight rise of price to the farmers but a yielding on their part as to making their agreements by "collective bargaining" seems at least possible.

The trouble at the bottom of this dispute is that, as the farmers claim, the great selling agencies get too much and the farmer too little of the price of milk. The consumer (and every one is a consumer) certainly pays enough, as we can all testify. The milk farmer insists that his share is so small that often his business is without any profit at all, and many farmers threaten to abandon milk production altogether—which would tend, by the way, to advance prices to the consumer. They insist also that the big companies make an excessive profit as compared with their actual investment. On the other hand, the great distributing agencies, such as the Borden and Sheffield companies, insist that they have made the market what it is, have encouraged sanitation, have secured extra prices for high grades of milk and cream, have paid hundreds of thousands of dollars in premiums for quality and cleanliness, have made pasteurization possible. One of the Sheffield Company's advertisements adds, "People are drinking more milk because it is better milk." It is contended that to deal with representatives of the Dairymen's League instead of the farmers individually would lower standards, hurt both farmers and dealers, and increase New York's death rate.

One obstacle to the farmers' desire to deal through a league and through Mr. Dillon, of the Department of Foods and Markets, is New York's Donnelly Act, which forbids the fixing of prices. As with the unions, the farmers claim that for an individual to deal by himself with a powerful corporation like those named is one-sided bargaining and that collective bargaining or ruin is the alternative.

All this is a novel phase of the general industrial question, but the principles involved are the same as in railway or cloak strikes. The day of individual competition in public necessities is past. Arbitration after investigation, and with continuance of service during arbitration, must sooner or later be furnished by State or Nation in some form in all labor wars in which the people at large have a concern.

THE NEW JERSEY PRIMARIES

The primaries which recently took place in New Jersey indicate that the primary system is sometimes more successful than its adverse critics would indicate. It was said, in the first place, that the people would neglect to avail themselves of the privilege. Many Democrats did neglect the primaries, chiefly because of the unappealing character of both candidates for the United States Senatorship and because the Democratic candidate for Governor was practically unopposed. But the Republicans did not so neglect the primaries.

It was said, in the second place, that in the ultimate analysis the candidate who received the largest number of votes would be found to be precisely the candidate who would have been chosen by the old "machine"—that is to say, by a few men in a back room. Here again the critics were at fault. In the case

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of the Republican candidate for the United States Senatorship, the party managers in convention would doubtless have chosen Franklin Murphy, who had had a very long connection with the regular organization and was in control of it throughout the State. Instead, Joseph S. Frelinghuysen was chosen. This indicates that the people's choice is not always the machine's choice.

Another indication of independence was the vote polled by Edmund B. Osborne for Senator. Mr. Osborne is an outspoken advocate of local option, and yet he won in a so-called "liquor district."

Aside from these and other evidences of the value of the primary as a political device, the Jersey primaries were marked by two features: The first was the claim on the part of the German-Americans that they had vitally influenced the election. It is said that they supported Frelinghuysen for no other reason than that his name was Dutch! It is said, too, that they supported Mr. Edge for Governor because he was supposed to be friendlier to them than was his competitor. But there were only two places where the German-American issue, as such, was really an issue—namely, in two of the Congressional districts. In one of these districts the candidate favored by the German-Americans won; in the other their candidate was defeated. But in the district where the German-Americans won their triumph was obtained only because the oppostion to their candidate was divided between two other candidates.

The final feature of the primaries was its significance with regard to the popularity of President Wilson in his own State. One of the candidates, Mr. Wescott, for the United States Senatorship had at least the Administration's passive support. The other candidate, Senator Martine, was known to rest under the Administration's displeasure. And yet Mr. Wescott was defeated. Although the Martine vote in one so-called "German district" is reported to have been particularly low, undoubtedly Senator Martine gained some German and Irish votes because he had voted to withdraw protection from Americans imperiled by German submarines and had espoused the cause of Casement, the Irish knight recently executed in England; but any strength secured in this way could have been easily overcome by a really capable opponent backed by a popular National Administration.

THE JAPANESE CABINET

The Japanese Cabinet, headed by Marquis Okuma, has resigned. More than a year ago the Premier offered his resignation along with the resignations of the other members of the Cabinet, but the Emperor was unwilling to accept them. Last spring his resignation was so strikingly forecast by the Prime Minister himself that its occurrence now will hardly surprise observers of events in the Far East.

The reason ascribed for Marquis Okuma's retirement from politics is his age. He is seventy-eight years old. In some quarters, however, his resignation will be interpreted as a sign that the jingo military element is getting into control in Japan and has made demands not in harmony with the views of a moderate like Marquis Okuma. The Opposition has long been insistently demanding that the Premier withdraw in favor of a man of bolder ideas. At the same time, because of the immense amount of misinformation that has recently been disseminated concerning Japan, it would be well for Americans not to accept all reports concerning the aims of Japanese policy; indeed, we ought to take every opportunity of setting our influence against the habit which many newspapers have formed, without waiting for knowledge, of assuming that any movement which Japan makes in any direction is full of subtle menace.

In Marquis Okuma's place the Emperor has requested Field Marshal Lieutenant General Count Seiki Terauchi, Governor-General of Korea, to organize a Cabinet. Count Terauchi is sixty-four years old. He studied military science in France, and afterwards was military attaché there. Certainly the record of the former Director of the Military Academy, Vice-Chief of the General Staff, Minister of War, and Governor-General of Korea, is one to arouse the approval of the admirer of military and administrative efficiency.

NEW PRESIDENTS IN PANAMA AND NICARAGUA

Sunday of last week was an interesting day in Panama and Nicaragua. In the first country a new President was inaugurated; in the second a new President was elected.

Succeeding Señor Belisario Porras (who, according to the Panaman Constitution, is not eligible to succeed himself), Señor Ramon Valdes, the President-elect, took office in the presence of all the Panaman authorities, of the diplomatic and consular corps, and of

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General Edwards, Acting Governor of the Canal Zone. In the name of his colleagues the American Minister made a congratulatory address to the new President.

As with the presidential term in Panama, that in Nicaragua is for four years. Succeeding Señor Adolfo Diaz, who has been President since the Zelaya and Mena rebellion, Señor Emiliano Chamorro, the candidate of all the conservative factions, was elected. The elections, however, did not pass off without disturbance, chiefly started, it would seem, by Salvador Zelaya, nephew of the one-time President. The Zelayistas were against Señor Chamorro because the latter, as Minister to the United States, had signed the treaty by which the United States Government obtained an option on the construction of an interoceanic canal in Nicaragua and also a naval base on the Bay of Fonseca for the sum of three million dollars. Discussing the situation, the elder Zelaya is reported to have spoken as follows:

> Nicaragua is no longer a republic. It is under foreign rule through General Chamorro. The promise of the [American] State Department to the Nicaraguan people that there would be fair elections has been violated. A President has been forced upon the Nicaraguan people whom they do not want and who is nothing more or less than a tool in the hands of others.

It is true that our State Department has been endeavoring to obtain fair elections in Nicaragua as in other Central American countries. If the elections in those countries are carried on without the former turbulence and if new governments are installed successfully without turning those countries from their present progress towards stable peace and prosperity, our State Department has in some degree succeeded in its supervisory policies in the Caribbean zone.

In that zone Nicaragua has been a pivotal point. Ever since the day when the older Zelaya was driven from power the State Department, largely because of the hundred marines stationed at Managua, has secured for Nicaragua a state of comparative peace at home and freedom from European intervention.

Beyond that, while the Department has endeavored to prevent any return to a Zelaya barbarity, it has followed a policy of strict neutrality as among parties and candidates in Nicaragua. Despite any present superficial indications to the contrary, we are confident that this policy will triumph in the end.

WORSHIP AND THE MODERN SPIRIT

A memorial, interesting to others than Episcopalians, is to be presented to the Episcopal General Convention, calling for a more fundamental revision of the Prayer-Book than has yet been made. This memorial notes the fact that there has been no such revision since the Reformation, and that the revision following the Convention of 1913 was limited by the provision that it should not include any change of doctrine. The memorialists believe that "the Church in our day has been led by the Spirit of Truth as in the days of our fathers," that "there have been awakenings in the Church since the Reformation which have yielded vital contributions to our spiritual life," and that the results of these awakenings should find expression in the worship of the Church. By way of illustration it refers to five modern movements "which, in our judgment, have certain contributions for a genuine and an inspiring enrichment of the Prayer-Book:"

I. "Our Prayer-Book assumes a congregation of Christ's people, met to worship and pray; a family, not a workshop; a religious association, not a militant army." The idea of the Church as one sent should find more effective expression in the ritual of the Church, and certain phrases based on the old conception of the heathen as outside the care of God and that that care is confined to his elect should be eliminated. Thus "the idea 'accomplish *the number of thine elect*,' once vital, obscures the now inspiring conviction that it is humanity itself, not a section of it or a selection out of it, that Christ has redeemed."

II. The Church is now engaged in social work, as it was not when the present Prayer-Book was adopted. The memorialists desire to have this socialized aspect of Christianity better recognized. "We desire to have our social liturgy enriched with prayers which declare that the kingdom of God has already come," and to include "prayers for specific needs of those who are at work for the kingdom, for faith, courage, patience, hope, enthusiasm, and energy."

III. During the past seventy years Christian scholarship has given to the Church a more accurate text of Scripture and a wealth of information throwing light upon Scripture

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which the Church of the Reformation days did not possess. The liturgy ought to be revised in the light of this knowledge. Thus it should not continue to teach children in the Catechism "that by baptism they *are made* the children of God." This statement, left out of the first revision of the American Prayer-Book, but reinserted, owing to a compromise, should be eliminated from it.

IV. The liturgy, derived largely from the Latin Church, "has failed to emphasize that God is light . . . and that we are children of the Light. For one reminder of our high destiny as heirs of God there are many reminders that we are 'miserable offenders,' and our children are 'conceived and born in sin.'" The memorialists believe that one reason for the exodus of many members from all communions into forms of mind-cure religion is this falsity of emphasis.

V. There are differences in the Church, due partly to differences of opinion, partly to differences of temperament. The memorialists urge the recognition of this fact by allowing for such differences of opinion, and for this purpose propose "the adoption of a rubric at the beginning of the Book of Common Prayer to the effect that the use of the Book is to be optional with the individual congregation." Unity and uniformity are not the same. The memorialists believe "that harmony in the Church is to be maintained only by agreeing to disagree."

How widespread in the Episcopal Church are the views expressed in this memorial we have no means of knowing. It is, however, signed by men of sobriety of judgment and wide National influence, among them such men as R. Fulton Cutting, John Howard Melish, George Foster Peabody, Herbert L. Satterlee, and, "concurring in the main purport of this memorial but not able to subscribe to all its details," we note, among other names, those of Seth Low and Warren L. Rogers. Few, if any, of the Protestant Churches, except the Episcopal and the Lutheran, have a required ritual. Their freer ministry does not need any legislation to enable them to adapt their extemporized prayers to the spirit and the needs of the time. But it will be well for their ministers to ponder these suggestions and consider how far the spirit and the needs of the time call for a modification both in their conduct of public worship and in their teaching. The Outlook is very much in sympathy with the spirit of this memorial.

THE WORK OF THE WEEKS BILL

In 1911 the Weeks Bill, which had long been pending in Congress, became law. The bill was so called after its sponsor, Representative, now Senator, Weeks, of Massachusetts. Its object was the acquirement by the National Government of watersheds on navigable streams. The Secretary of Agriculture was authorized to protect and administer these acquired lands as National Forests. While the purpose was to keep timber growing permanently upon all portions, judicious thinnings were, of course, to be made, so that all the mature growth which could be spared from the forests without impairing their protective powers should be removed. The character of this work has already been abundantly approved in the protection of watersheds from destructive erosion.

To this end Congress appropriated $11,000,000. Under the law purchases have been made in New Hampshire, the Virginias and the Carolinas, Georgia, and Tennessee. This means that many watersheds in the White and Appalachian Mountains have been saved. The total purchases made and approved in these mountains exceed two million acres. By "made" we include those areas whose title has actually passed to the United States Government, while under "approved" we include those areas which have been negotiated for and whose purchase has been approved by the National Forest Reservation Commission.

This Commission is composed of the Secretaries of Agriculture, the Interior, and War, two Senators, and two Representatives. Authority is conferred upon it to pass upon lands recommended; indeed, no lands may be bought unless it approves. Lands are to be purchased by the Secretary of Agriculture after he has secured the consent of the State in which such lands are to be permanently reserved and administered as National Forest lands. They are deeded to the United States of America. Though the law does not mention the White Mountain or the Appalachian regions specifically, they were, of course, in the minds of Congressmen when the bill passed. As a matter of fact, no land has been acquired under the Weeks Law except in these regions.

The result of all the action taken is, first, that the supply of water has been regulated; second, that watershed forests, administered on forestry principles, are definitely assured;

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and, third, that great recreation grounds have been established at the most desirable points for the people of the country.

A MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

The gift of the large American Indian collection brought together during the past twelve years by George G. Heye, of New York City, to the Board of Trustees of the recently formed Museum of the American Indian—Heye Foundation, marks the beginning of an institution that is unique, as it is the only one devoted exclusively to the American Indian. Its activities will include the regions represented by North, South, and Central America and the West Indies, and its aim will be to preserve for future study everything pertaining to the natives of these regions.

The work that led up to the founding of the present institution stands alone in the annals of American museums. The years that have been devoted to the sending out of expeditions and to the gathering in of collections and individual specimens have enabled Mr. Heye to develop plans that have now become realities. These plans embraced the broad and comprehensive scheme of the establishment of a museum that would be absolutely American, and throughout the years of development all foreign specimens have been excluded; the continuation of the museum work will perpetuate this idea.

The nucleus of the collection was formed in 1903, and since that time there has been no abatement in the activities of the Heye Museum. Field work was started in 1904, and has continued without interruption. Investigations in the United States have produced a wealth of material. In 1906 archæological explorations in Ecuador were started, the plan of the work being to collect material and to publish data relating to the pre-Columbian inhabitants of the region lying between Peru and Panama, and extending eastward to Brazil. The work is still in progress, and several memoirs and monographs have been published. The material thus far assembled presents a most comprehensive idea of the prehistoric culture of the region. In 1910 a general archæological survey of the West Indies was started. Exploration work has been carried on in all of the large islands and in many of the smaller ones. These investigations have added materially to the general archæological knowledge of this little-known area, and the collections from this region and from Ecuador are the largest and most representative that have ever been brought together.

The new museum is now in course of construction at One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street and Broadway. The building will cost $250,000 and will be built on land presented by Mr. Archer M. Huntington.

THE FORESTS OF FRANCE

We do not know much about the forest assets and resources of Europe and the war's inroads upon them. We assume, of course, that both sides have used much timber for military purposes in the construction of trenches, in the erection of shelter, barracks, etc., as well as for firewood. Again, we assume that on both fronts many new roads or passageways have been built for the transportation of guns, munitions, supplies, and men, and that cantonments, litters, water installations, and corduroy roads all call interminably for wood. In "American Forestry" Mr. Percival Sheldon Ridsdale confirms these assumptions and informs us that temporary sawmills are established just in the rear of the fighting zones.

Of all the forests mentioned in the war, that of Argonne has doubtless been oftenest to the fore in the news. During the first German drive towards Paris the French made a stand there, and later, when the Germans were forced back, it was the scene of months of desperate struggle. Time after time it was swept by artillery fire, and was often the scene of desperate hand-to-hand fighting. Not a bird is left in the forest, adds Mr. Ridsdale, and practically every tree which remains standing bears the mark of battle.

This is not the first time, however, that there has been such fighting in the forest. In the campaign of 1792 and in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 it saw many bloody struggles.

The Forest of Argonne covers a number of wooded heights, eight hundred or nine hundred feet high, in the northeastern part of France in the Champagne and in French Lorraine. It is about thirty miles long and from one to eight miles wide. It is bounded by the sources of the river Aisne and runs along that river to the Meuse.

Mr. Ridsdale, who, as the editor of

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"American Forestry," certainly ought to know what he is talking about, predicts that it will be a hundred years before the forests of northern France are restored to anything like the conditions they were in before the war swept them with devastation and excessive cutting.

WHAT WE WANT

Mr. Roosevelt is reported as saying that America wants a navy second in size only to the greatest in the world—that is, we suppose, second in size to that only of Great Britain. Mr. Roosevelt's knowledge of our naval and military needs is thorough, and we have great confidence in his judgment. But we do not think that the fifteen million voters of the United States are the ones to decide either how great an army or how great a navy the Nation needs.

There are certain great questions which the people of the United States ought to decide in a general election, but they are questions of National policy, not of National methods. The people should decide:

Whether the Nation should be equipped with sufficient naval and military forces to protect American citizens at home and abroad and on land and on sea, and to do its share in maintaining international law and in preserving peace and order throughout the world, or:

Whether the Nation should depend for the fulfillment of these primary duties on moral influence alone.

Having decided this fundamental question, it should leave the questions of method to be determined by representatives of the people selected for that purpose because of their expert knowledge. If the people decide in favor of disarmament and trust wholly to moral influences for the fulfillment of National duty, they should leave to experts to formulate and propose a plan for the organization of a moral influence for world peace greater than that which the Roman Catholic Church and its present honored head have exerted in vain in Europe; greater than that which the President, aided by the A B C republics, has exerted in vain by his speeches and letters for the protection of life and property and the preservation of order in Mexico; greater than that which Mayor Mitchel and Oscar Straus, of New York City, and the Rapid Transit Commission have exercised in vain for the protection of peaceable citizens against thugs in New York City.

If the people decide in favor of protection against the thugs of New York City, against the bandits of Mexico, against the sub-sea pirates in the ocean, they should leave it to experts to determine the nature of the equipment that is necessary and the method for providing it.

The people should determine at a general election whether they wish to trust the protection of the country to militia forces belonging to forty-eight different States which are forbidden by Congress to make war, and under the control of forty-eight different Governors to whose control those militia are by the Constitution subjected, or whether they will leave the States to preserve order in the States and trust the Federal Government to organize a standing army sufficient for the ordinary protective work of the Federal Government and a Federal force exclusively under Federal control for such exigencies as may arise in the future. But when they have decided that question they should leave it to experts to determine how that land force should be created and organized and how large a navy is needed and of what sort of ships it should be composed.

These questions of method are not those which the people of the United States in a general election are fitted to decide.

They are not questions which can be left to the decision of the President of the United States. No one man can know enough to decide for the Nation all the varied and complicated questions involved in National policy: questions of military organization, railway regulation, conservation of National resources, National control of banking, methods of taxation, forms and extent of protective legislation, and the like; though the President can select for the Nation the experts on whose judgment the Nation can depend for counsel, if not final decision, on these varied questions.

Nor can Congress wisely formulate the methods in detail for making effective the National will. It is too large, too heterogeneous, too inexpert. It contains a few experienced statesmen familiar with public questions and public business; a large number of honest, patriotic, fair-minded men drawn from the common walks of life without special knowledge of public questions or public business; and a few astute, designing, self-seeking politicians, working for themselves or at best for their own constituents,

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regardless and often ignorant of the National welfare. Such a mass-meeting is not fitted to decide, without expert counsel from disinterested leaders, such questions as, How large and what kind of a navy do we need? how large and what kind of an army do we need?

What The Outlook wants to see is a Council of National Defense—with power. The existing Council, which was created by the recent Army Appropriation Act, is merely advisory to the Executive, and lacks the breadth of purpose and power to enable it to carry out a continuous policy of National defense. It may, however, be the germ from which a real Council of National Defense will grow. Such a Council ought to have in its membership the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of State, the Chief of Staff of the Army and an officer of the Navy, and a number of civilian members, as the present Council has; but in addition it should include in its membership the Chairmen of the Committees on Appropriations, Foreign Affairs, Military Affairs, and Naval Affairs in both houses of Congress. It should be a non-partisan commission, though a majority of its members should be responsive to public opinion and sufficiently in sympathy with the Administration to work with it. At the same time a majority of its members should be experts, knowing their respective subjects thoroughly. Such a commission should be permanent, and should prepare and report to the President, to the Congress, and to the country its plan for carrying out the kind of preparation, military or moral, which the Nation had decided on. It should have at least one member, perhaps a paid secretary, skilled in the use of the English language, who could report this plan in such form that the plain people could understand it. Of course Congress would have to approve this report before it could be carried into effect, because it would have to make the appropriation necessary for that purpose; but the report of the commission would give to Congress and the country expert National counsel, and the country, having that counsel before it, would be able to determine whether it approved of the action of Congress in dealing with the subject.

If some such plan as this were organized and put in operation, the kind of military bill which Congress has enacted, and which Mr. Eric Wood in the current number of the "Century" analyzes and exposes so effectively, would hardly be possible of enactment.

DIVIDING THE INHERITANCE

We Americans have inherited a great estate. We did not make the coal and iron, the gold and silver and copper, nor plant the forests, nor store the prairies with fertile juices. We found this wealth all here. The battle between laborers and capitalists is largely over the question, How shall we divide this wealth?

It is narrated in the life of Jesus of Nazareth that he was once asked by one of two brothers to settle a dispute between the two as to their inheritance. He replied: It is not my business to settle questions of this kind. Then he took the occasion to tell the brothers and the bystanders that the underlying cause which leads to all such controversies is the spirit of greed; and that the radical remedy is to substitute for the spirit of greed the spirit of service. If, said he, in substance, men would give their thought to the question how they can bring about in the community a spirit of justice, peace, and good will, they would not get into these property controversies. My advice to you, he said, is not to worry about what you are going to get out of life. Give yourself wholly to the question what you can do to make the community in which you live a just, peaceful, and happy community. Do not get excited about things. Keep a level head. Remember that it is much more important to live an abounding life than to possess abundant property.

Various methods are proposed as a cure for industrial war—*e.g.*, compulsory arbitration, profit-sharing, State ownership. Much more important than any of these is the remedy which Jesus proposed—a substitution of the spirit of service for the spirit of greed. No method without this change in spirit will be effectual; any method with this change in spirit will be adequate. New York City has lately been undergoing an industrial war which involved its people in inconvenience and might have resulted in a great calamity. If the labor union leaders and the managers of capital were both solely desirous of ascertaining what is just toward each other and toward the community, there would have been no difficulty at all in preventing this war; in fact, the threat of the war would never have been made.

Moreover, the example which Jesus of Nazareth set is a good one for his churches to follow. Ministers have neither the tem-

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perament nor the training that fits them to determine which party is in the right in a labor war; they had better leave that to the courts. They are not especially fitted to determine what method the State had better adopt to prevent such war; that they may perfectly properly leave to statesmen. But they have an unparalleled opportunity, and they ought to have both the temperament and the training which fits them, to deal with the far more important questions, What is the cause of labor wars? and What is the radical cure? The cause is the spirit of greed; the cure is the spirit of service. If the churches could inspire in the community the resolve to cast out the spirit of greed and to enthrone the spirit of service, they would end forever all danger of industrial war.

CONCENTRATION IN READING

A generation ago the way of the lover of good reading was much smoother than it is to-day. Then it was a fairly well marked path; and there were certain points of view, places of wide outlook, which were sharply defined; and everybody who followed the path was expected to find these places of rest and inspiration.

A man or woman who formed the reading habit could reasonably expect to become fairly well acquainted with English literature before being overtaken by middle life. To-day there is no such path. It has often been said that Humboldt was the last universal scholar. To-day universal scholarship is a contradiction in terms; and even the attempts to systematize all knowledge by philosophical definition and arrangement have failed. A generation ago hosts of people reading Herbert Spencer took up book after book with the confident assurance that they were mastering the principles of knowledge; and it is not many years since Dr. Joseph Cook held large audiences season after season in Boston in a heroic attempt to deal authoritatively with one department of knowledge after another. The attempt was never successful, and, although it was daring and in some ways interesting, it had the fatal defect of being impossible.

Many people to-day know something about everything. Thousands of Americans have traveled in other countries; they know something about England, Germany, France, Italy, and the Far East; and perhaps it is safe to say that a majority of these are in the habit of generalizing, confidently and easily, about the traits, qualities, and characteristics of all the peoples among whom they have journeyed. And a host of books have been written on all these peoples in which one will find a confident and often an interesting definition of national genius in these different countries. And yet when one wishes really to know a people in their spirit, he can put his hand on only a few books. Emerson's "English Traits" and Mr. Brownell's "French Traits" stand out among a host of ambitious volumes on account of their intelligence, their insight, and their real knowledge of the matters which they discuss. The majority of the books written about the French by English and American writers ought to be to-day in the waste-basket; the history of the last two years has shown how futile and misleading they are.

No man or woman can cover the interests of the world; but those interests come to us to-day with an almost passionate insistence. We pass from one to another without being aware that we have crossed almost impassable abysses. Popular treatises on every art, science, religion, industry, national life, give us the feeling that all doors are open to us; that we can go anywhere we choose. De Quincey, in his studies of the Cæsars, pointed out the tragic contrast between the possession of universal power and the ability to use it. A man may have all the resources of the world at his hand, but the capacity of his senses remains what it was; the power of eating and drinking is not enlarged by the fact that the markets of the world are accessible to him. The brain is beguiled in every direction by an almost infinite variety of interests; but its capacity to deal intelligently with those interests, to absorb the vast funds of knowledge to which the doors are all open, remains practically unchanged. We can know only a few things; we can remember only a few things, only those things that are more or less related to our natural aptitude and to the habits of our lives.

One can save the individuality of his mind only by selection and concentration. Many people are intoxicated by the fascination of the great variety of things offered them; and they end by becoming as miscellaneous and heterogeneous as some ambitious but unorganized museums. The attempt to cover too much ground accounts for much of the gen-

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eral superficiality with which Americans are charged. It is better to be honestly ignorant than to be pretentiously intelligent. The American humorist who said, "It is better to have a few ideas raised on your own premises than a whole orphan asylum of ideas which you have adopted," defined a great principle. To do a few things thoroughly involves character; to do many things superficially involves nothing but intellectual curiosity.

One must know the history of his own time; one must read the newspapers and the magazines with discrimination; but the men or women who wish to live the life of the mind must select those lines of reading and study which follow the lines of their taste and aptitude, choosing a few subjects that appeal to them, and laying the emphasis of interest and work upon them. Ambitious programmes are the bane of many organizations for self-cultivation in America, as they are the bane of many public conferences. The attempt to be omniscient is responsible for programmes so overloaded that the very sight of them discourages and repels those who sincerely seek intelligent guidance. One of the most widely known Americans of the time once spoke of Tolstoy as the greatest man living. Asked on which of Tolstoy's books he based that opinion, he replied that he had read none of them, but had read a great many newspaper articles about him!

THE TEST OF PROSPERITY

There is, perhaps, no word in more frequent use at this moment than "prosperity," and yet few people who employ it, if they were suddenly challenged, could adequately define it. The country is passing through a period of intense activity which is likely to continue for a considerable period of time. There is work for everybody who is willing to work. How much or how little this state of affairs has been brought about by the party in power at Washington is a matter of individual opinion. The Democratic party has not been associated with periods of great business activity; and there are many who hold that the present state of activity has come, not because that party is in control, but in spite of it.

On the other hand, most people contrasting the condition of France with the condition of the United States would probably agree that the French people are passing through a time of great calamity, and that, whenever the end of the war comes, it will find them burdened with a colossal indebtedness, with very considerable exhaustion of resources, and with a tragic depletion of productive workers in every field. This would seem to mean a great loss of prosperity; and yet all disinterested people are agreed that France has never held a nobler position among the nations of the world than she holds to-day, and that her moral and spiritual achievements have been on a level with her military successes.

Prosperity means comfort and opportunity for a great number of people, and is, therefore, an eminently desirable thing, something to be worked for by governments and by individuals; but it must be a real prosperity, and not merely the making of money.

No country is prosperous unless its conditions are producing men and women of a high type, and every country is prosperous that is producing such men and women. Years ago Lowell, in describing a famous address of Emerson's, said of it: "Every possible criticism might have been made on it but one—that it is not noble. . . . He boggled, he lost his place, he had to put on his glasses; but it was as if a creature from some fairer world had lost his way in our fogs and it was *our* fault, not his. It was chaotic, but it was of such stuff as stars are made of, and you could not help feeling that if you waited a while all that was nebulous would be whirled into planets and would assume the methodical gravity of system. All through it I felt something in me that cried, 'Ha! ha!' to the sound of the trumpets." When there are men in the country whose utterances, characters, and lives have the trumpet quality, it is a prosperous time no matter what the reports of business may be. Years after this address was delivered the country was devastated by the Civil War. Strong men were burdened by fear of the future; there was paralysis in many departments of trade; at the close of the war Emerson, speaking again in Cambridge, said: "We shall not again disparage America now that we have seen what men it bears."

That, in a word, is the test of prosperity: What kind of men and women does a country or a period bear? Crops may be bountiful beyond all precedent, trade may tax all the resources of enterprise, and yet the production of men and women may be at the lowest ebb; on the other hand, a decade may be crowded with disasters to property

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of all sorts and kinds, and yet its production of men and women may touch the high-water mark of prosperity.

Who shall dare to say to-day that France is not passing through the most prosperous period of her history; that in her deep silence, so significant of unshaken resolution and sublime sacrifice, there is not achievement of the very highest order; that in her resolute consecration of all her forces to defend the integrity of her national soul there is not a revelation of the very highest good fortune? That is a prosperous country in which men die and women labor without murmuring for something which does not make for their individual gain. It is said that the women of the streets in Paris have practically disappeared from the places that used to know them; that they are one and all at work in the making of munitions. In such a statement there is the revelation of a more genuine and enduring prosperity than in all the reports of banks and of commercial activity.

THE MEXICAN POLICY OF PRESIDENT WILSON FROM A MEXICAN POINT OF VIEW

The Traitorous Huerta—Non-Recognition versus Overthrow—When Is an Insult Not an Insult?—Lost in the Labyrinth—Appeasing the Brigand—Carrizal and Cordial Relations—The Cruelty of the Humanitarian—Who Will Pay for Serving Humanity?—"Keeping Out of Mexico"

PEOPLE who have experienced an earthquake have said that the terror it inspires arises not from the ruin it occasions but from the fact that the heaving of the earth itself deprives one of the sense of self-control, as if one were bereft of reason. For more than three years now Mexico has been shaken by a social and political earthquake, and the terror that it has caused has arisen from the fact that the foundations of life seem to have gone. This, at least, is the impression that is gained from reading a remarkable small book that has just been issued from the press of Smith & Thomson, 58 Broad Street, New York City.[1]

Of all the books and articles that have been written on Mexican events of the last three or four years, there is none that is written with more clearness, vigor, compactness, and epigrammatic force; and although the author speaks his mind frankly and does not extract the bitterness from what he is convinced is the bitter truth, never once, so far as we have noted, does he trespass beyond the bounds of courtesy. This book is wholesome reading for Americans.

"Peace and liberty," "constitutional government," "the pacification of Mexico," aid for people "struggling toward liberty," have been the avowed objects of President Wilson's Mexican policy. It might seem, therefore, that a Mexican who arraigns that policy, as the author of this book does, must be a reactionary, an opponent of democratic aspirations, a believer in the theory that only the "best people" are fit to rule or even to aspire to rule. The most interesting single fact about this book is that the contrary is true. The author of "The Mexican Policy of President Woodrow Wilson as It Appears to a Mexican" was an associate and coadjutor of the man who started the uprising against Diaz, President Francisco I. Madero. He was a member of Madero's Cabinet, and, later, Mexican Ambassador to the United States. In his book he calls Huerta "traitorous," and terms Diaz a "tyrant." He arraigns the Wilson policy, not because it has aided the cause of popular rights, but because it has impeded that cause.

One might expect a member of Madero's Cabinet at least to approve Mr. Wilson's

(*Continued on page following illustrations*)

[1] The Mexican Policy of President Woodrow Wilson as It Appears to a Mexican. By Manuel Calero, Secretary of State and of Foreign Relations of the Mexican Republic in the Cabinet of President Francisco I. Madero, and, later, Mexican Ambassador to the United States. Press of Smith & Thomson, New York. Price, 25c. On sale in bookstores and at news-stands.

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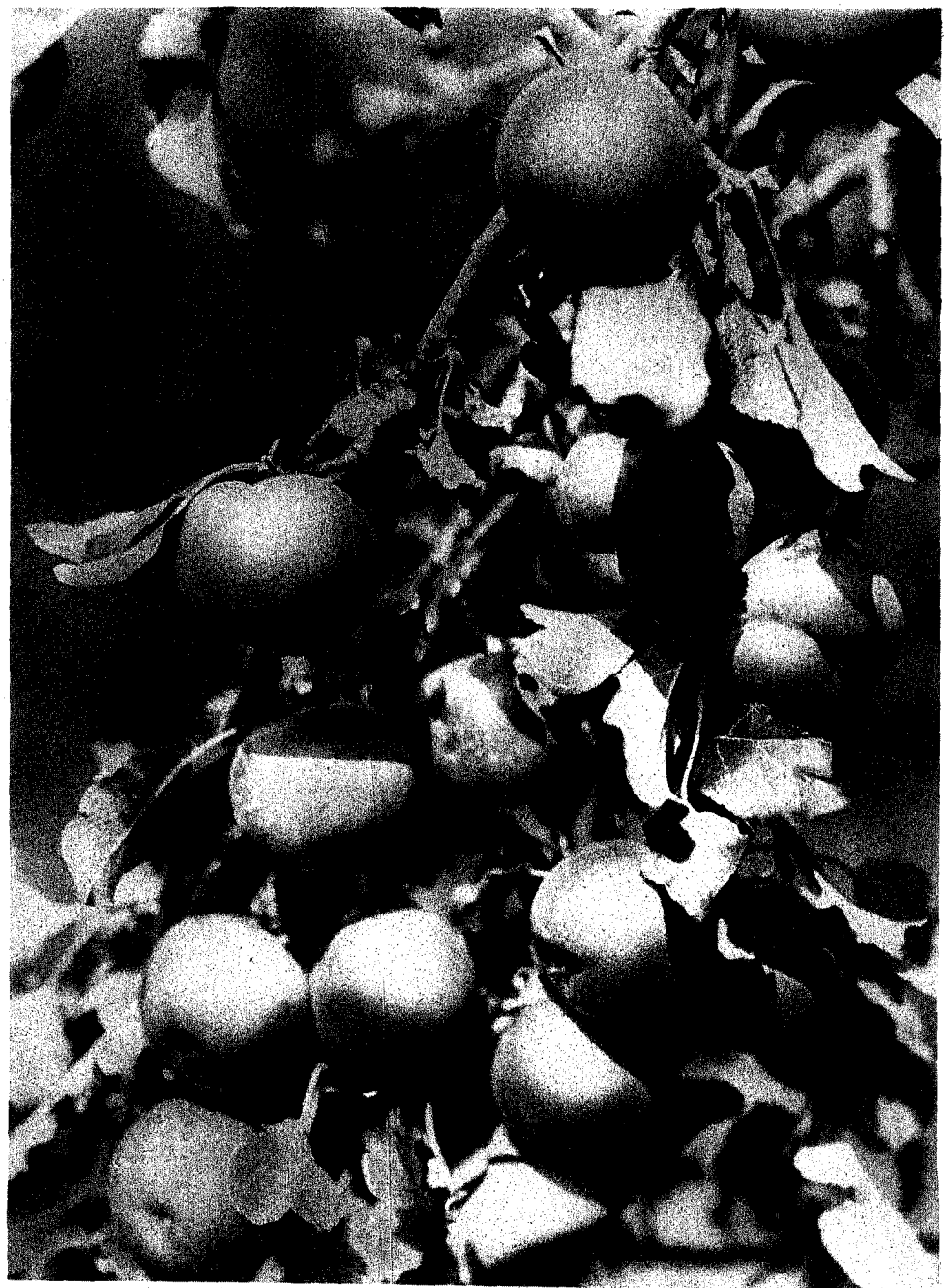
Current Events Pictorially Treated

THE OUTLOOK, OCTOBER 11, 1916



PHOTOGRAPH FROM PRESS ILLUSTRATING SERVICE

A CONTRIBUTION OF THE GREAT WEST TO THE COUNTRY'S HARVEST—APPLES FROM WYOMING

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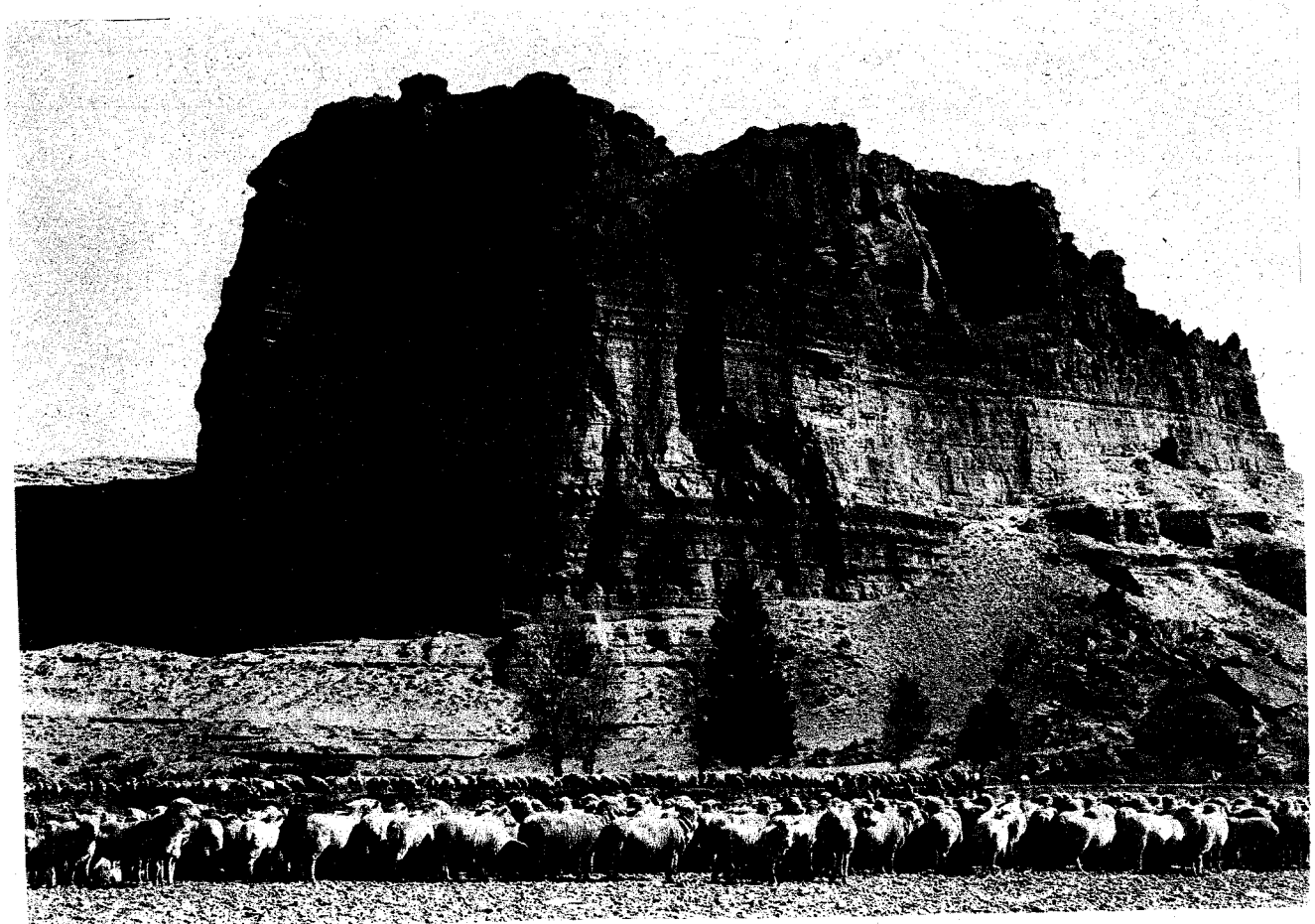

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ON THE LINCOLN HIGHWAY IN WYOMING—WOOL AND MUTTON ON THEIR WAY TO MARKET

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BLACKFEET INDIANS IN PICTURESQUE COSTUME ON THE CUTBANK RIVER, GLACIER NATIONAL PARK

Ordinarily, the Indian of 1916 dresses in white man's garments, runs a mowing-machine to harvest his crop, or perhaps even an automobile for pleasure or business, and is in process of becoming a good American citizen. In the Glacier Mountain Park, however, the Montana Indians occasionally relax and enjoy themselves by donning the garb of other days and "camping out" like their white brethren. Two members of the Blackfeet tribe, with the unusual names of "Big Springs" and "Stabs-by-Mistake," are shown above thus accoutered

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A NEW STATUE OF BOLIVAR, THE SOUTH AMERICAN HERO, TO BE ERECTED IN CENTRAL PARK, NEW YORK

Bolivar was born in Venezuela in 1783. He spent his life and his fortune in fighting for the independence of various South American countries, and is gratefully known by lovers of freedom everywhere as "the Liberator." The new statue, which is to take the place of one that has been removed, is the work of a woman sculptor, Sally James Farnham, of New York

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PHOTOGRAPH FROM PAUL THOMPSON

THE NEW PRINCIPAL OF TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE AND THE EX-MINISTER TO NICARAGUA—REPRESENTATIVE NEGRO LEADERS

Robert N. Moton (at the left), who has succeeded the late Booker T. Washington as the head of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, and James W. Johnson, ex-Minister to Nicaragua, appear above as photographed in New York City shortly after the funeral of the Hon. Seth Low, which they both attended

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PHOTOGRAPH BY MRS. ALICE F. FOSTER

BRINGING IN THE HAY

See sketch, "The Hay-Field," elsewhere in this issue

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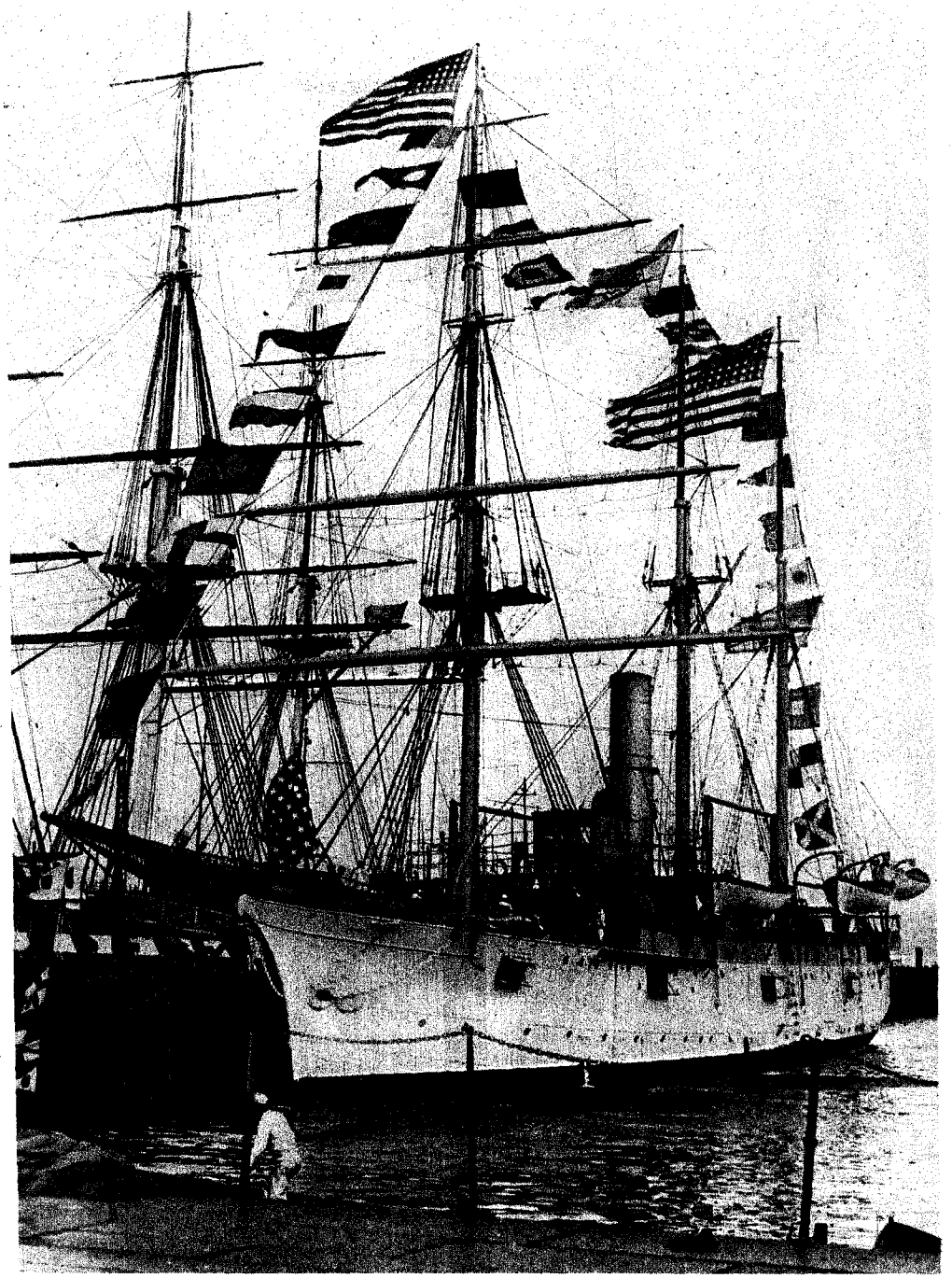

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A TRAINING SCHOOL FOR THE MERCHANT MARINE

The nautical training ship Ranger, shown above, is maintained by the Massachusetts State Board of Education for training young men as officers for the merchant service. While this ship has the lure of an old-time "square rigger" for the boy who loves the romance of the sea, the course of study fits the prospective sailor for work on up-to-date vessels in which machinery and electricity play so vital a part. If America is ever to regain her place as a maritime power, she must train a host of young men along these lines

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"THE ATTACK"—A STIRRING DETAIL OF A CIVIL WAR MONUMENT AT VICKSBURG, MISSISSIPPI

The Missouri State Monument to be erected at Vicksburg, of which the above picture shows a detail of one of the panels, is by Victor S. Holm, a well-known Western sculptor. The portrayal of energy, determination, and fortitude as expressed in the faces and figures of the Federal soldiers is realistic and impressive. The monument is erected by Missouri to the memory of the soldiers of that State who took part in the siege of Vicksburg. This memorial is another indication of the growing reunion of the "Blue" and the "Gray"

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PHOTOGRAPH FROM PAUL THOMPSON

FRENCH SOLDIERS ENJOYING A HOLIDAY

Unlike the picture on the preceding page, this photograph shows the soldier when "off duty" and on pleasure bent. The river, "somewhere in France," is a picturesque one, and the *poilus* will no doubt enjoy the change of diet which every one will hope may result from their present activity

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TRIESTE, THE OBJECTIVE WHICH THE ITALIANS ARE NEARING

Reports indicate a steady advance of the Italian army toward this port on the Adriatic; the fall of Gorizia brings the Italians much nearer this coveted goal

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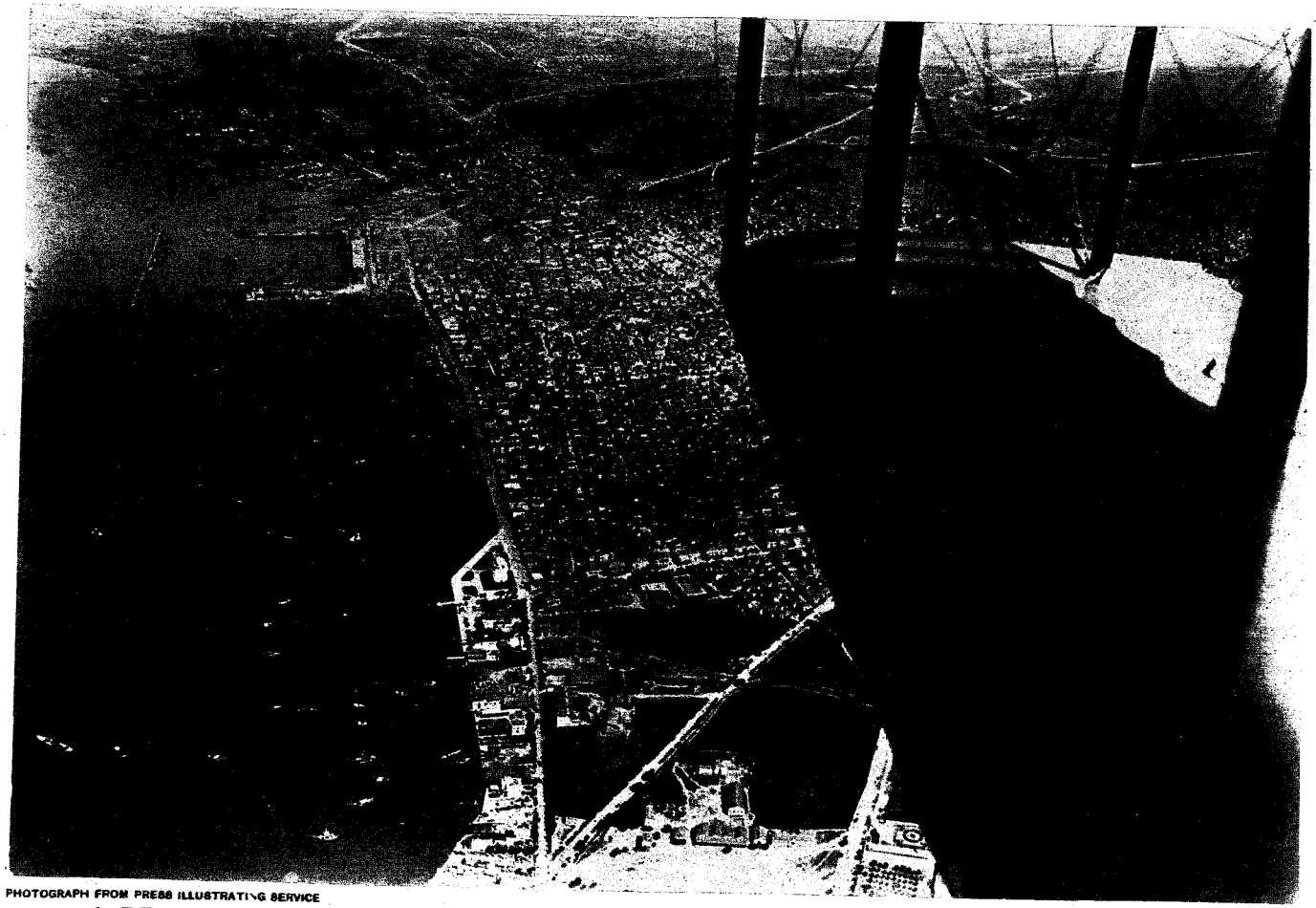

PHOTOGRAPH FROM PRESS ILLUSTRATING SERVICE

A REMARKABLE PHOTOGRAPH OF SALONIKA, GREECE, TAKEN FROM AN AEROPLANE

The city of Salonika is one of the focal points of the great European struggle. It has been the center of many other great events during its long history. It occupies the site of the Roman city of Thessalonica. To the inhabitants of that city the Apostle Paul wrote: "From you sounded out the word of the Lord, not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but in every place your faith . . . is spread abroad"

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AN EAST AFRICAN ECHO OF THE GREAT WAR

The British forces, it is reported, have captured Dar-es-Salaam, the capital of the German Protectorate in East Africa. The Germans fled, pursued by a column under Brigadier-General Northey. The photograph shows a group of native postal carriers attached to General Northey's column

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AN ENGLISH FAIR—TAKING HOME THE NEW PURCHASE

Barnet Fair, one of the oldest of English fairs, was well attended this year, and it is said that, owing to the shortage in motors, there was an especially good demand for Irish and Welsh colts and donkeys. The picture shows a typical scene at the Fair

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A JAPANESE IVORY WORKER IN NEW YORK CITY

All roads seem now to lead to New York, as of old to Rome, and among the cosmopolitan population of the city may be found artificers from every land. One of these, from Japan, is seen in the photograph. The expression of his keenly intelligent face indicates that his work with alcohol torch and blow tube is proceeding satisfactorily

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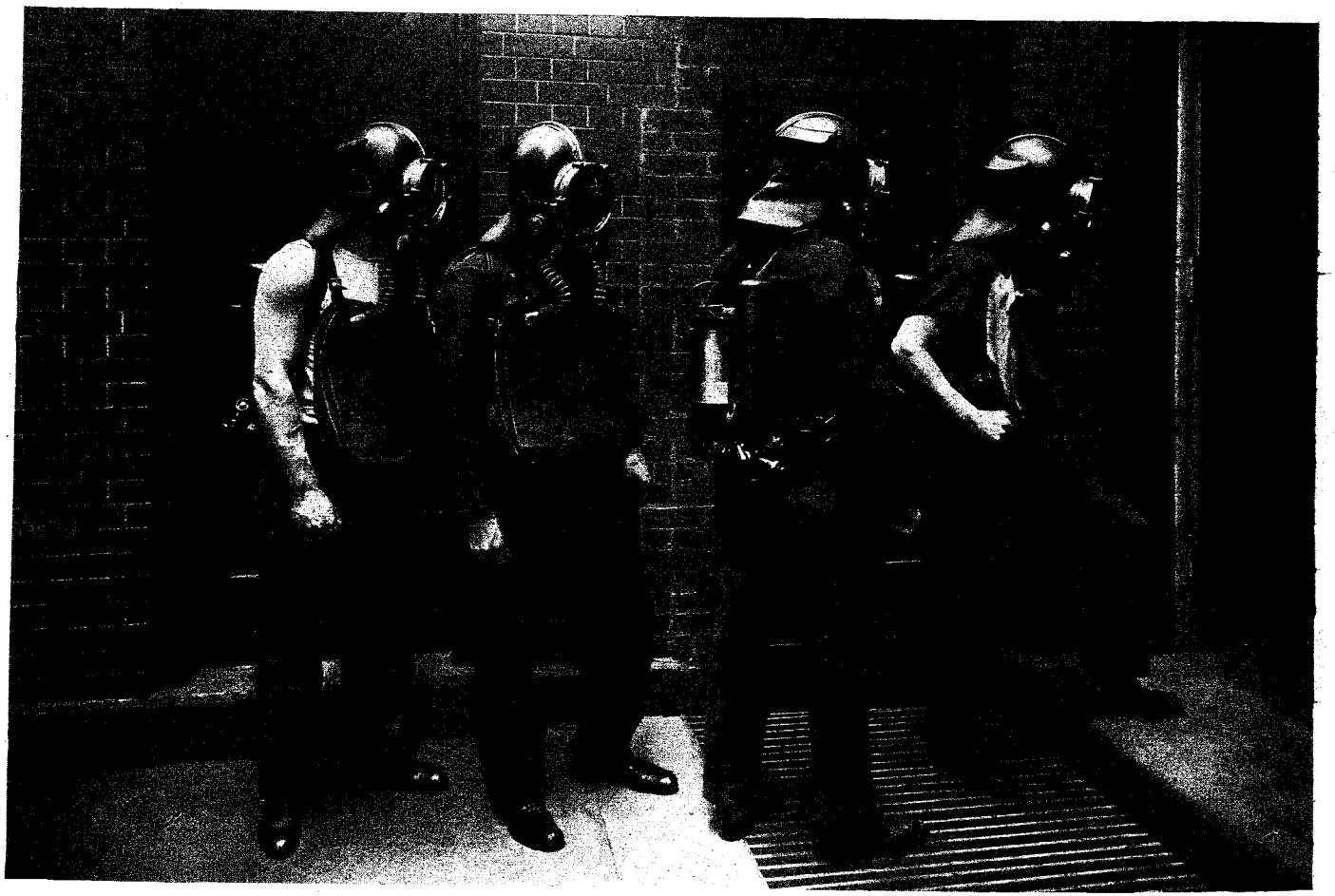

READY FOR RESCUE WORK

Equipped with oxygen helmets, these New York firemen are prepared to enter a burning building and rescue persons overcome by smoke or gas. Since the introduction of these helmets the rescue squad have been able to perform feats which heretofore have been impossible. While the floor holds and the roof does not cave in they can continue their perilous work, free from the danger of suffocation

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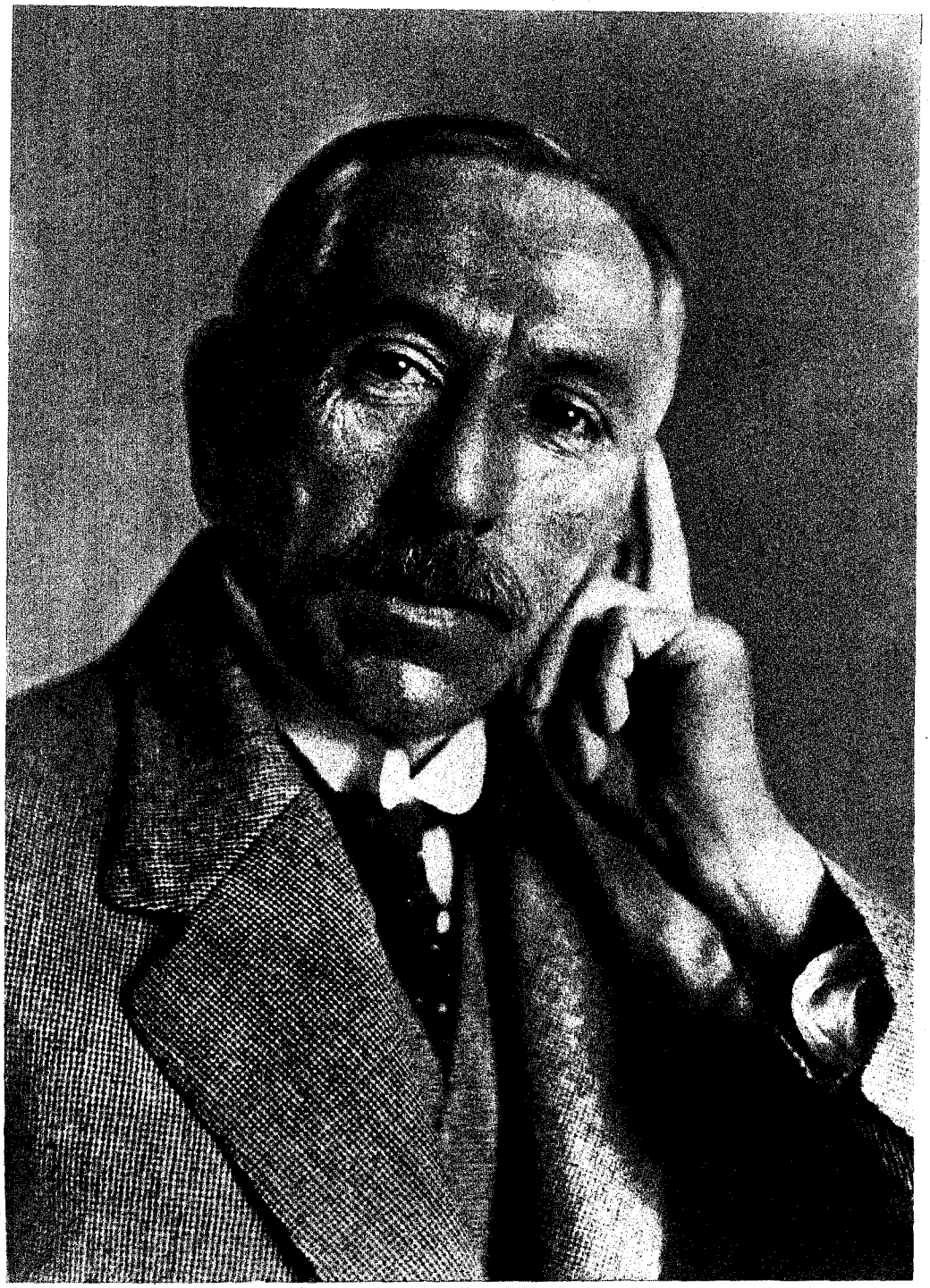

WILLIAM HUGHES, PREMIER OF AUSTRALIA

Australia has adopted conscription, as a result, it is reported, of a strenuous campaign by Mr. Hughes. The Premier traveled through America recently on his way to England, where he aroused popular enthusiasm by his advocacy of the policy of fighting the war to a finish. On his return to Australia he set to work to preach conscription to aid the Empire, and has succeeded in carrying the country with him

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attempt to overthrow Huerta, the assassin of Madero, but Manuel Calero, the author of this book, denounces that attempt to overthrow Huerta as a colossal mistake on the part of President Wilson. He acknowledges that the refusal to recognize Huerta was within President Wilson's right, but the attempt to overthrow Huerta is a different matter. "Non-recognition," says Mr. Calero, "a merely negative act, fell within the Constitutional faculties of President Wilson, whereas to destroy Huerta, to throw him from power, was a positive act which did not come within the legal faculties of the President of the United States, and which is, moreover, a direct violation of international law." To drive him from his place was a matter, says Mr. Calero, "that concerned exclusively the people of Mexico. If the Mexican Congress had sanctioned the usurpation, it was ridiculous to suppose that the President of the United States had the authority to undo what the Mexican Congress had done." As an opponent of Huerta Mr. Calero, moreover, points out that the conduct of the Administration tended at first not to weaken, but actually to strengthen, the usurper. It offered to him "the occasion of exhibiting himself . . . as defender of the sovereignty of Mexico against the intrusion of a foreign Government. The European press so considered it. The people of various South American cities acclaimed Huerta as a hero. . . . The special Embassy which Huerta sent to Japan was received . . . with great acclamations to the dictator." As a consequence, "'Huerta, right or wrong,' said everybody, 'rather than accept a foreign imposition.'"

By preventing French banks from completing the loan which they had made with Huerta the American Government brought Huerta's Government face to face with bankruptcy. And, as a consequence, poor people in Europe who had invested in Mexican securities suffered incalculable harm. Then came the Tampico incident—the arrest of some American sailors—and the demand upon Huerta to salute the American flag (a demand with which the Mexican Government has never complied), with the consequent occupation of the Mexican port of Vera Cruz by United States forces. Mr. Calero compares the action of President Wilson toward Mexico on this occasion with the acceptance of an apology from Austria as sufficient reparation for "deliberate insult" in the Petrolite case, and also compares it with the lenity shown toward Carranza when Carranzista soldiers heaped vile insults on officers of the Annapolis, arrested them, and killed an American bluejacket.

A chapter is devoted to President Wilson's efforts to aid Villa and Carranza. When Huerta went, Carvajal took his place, but, on the demand of the American Government, abandoned the capital. "What happened then"—when the Carranza hordes occupied Mexico City—says Mr. Calero, "is something that the American Government has not dared to publish."

To obtain the elimination of Huerta and the triumph of the "Constitutionalists" the President sacrificed in Vera Cruz the lives of some twenty of his countrymen and has spent some millions of dollars, with loss of life, property, and honor that fell heavily upon the inhabitants of Mexico, both foreigners and Mexicans. "In all this history of the intrusion of President Wilson in Mexico there is not a single act calculated to protect Americans in that country." And Mr. Calero continues:

> Let it not be understood that the author of these lines censures the President for not having concerned himself with the protection of Americans in Mexico, since that is not incumbent upon the writer, as a Mexican; but if attention is called to this circumstance, it is only to emphasize the absurdity of the position taken by the President of the United States, who, instead of looking after the welfare of his countrymen, has concerned himself with promoting the welfare of the Mexicans, with results so completely negative that it can be affirmed with entire truth that never has Mexico been poorer, hungrier, and more oppressed by an anarchical and criminal faction than at this very day.

With the triumph of the Constitutionalists came the rupture between Villa and Carranza. Mr. Paul Fuller, Mr. Wilson's confidential agent, reported in favor of Villa. Nevertheless, President Wilson, according to Mr. Calero, saved Carranza by evacuating Vera Cruz in his favor just at the time when, if ever, there was justification for hesitating to evacuate that port. Thereupon President Wilson called upon Villa and Carranza to "act together," and Villa and Carranza, by way of reply, indulged in greater ferocity. "Lost in the labyrinth, Mr. Wilson called to his aid six countries of Latin America." To their offer Villa gave compliance, while Carranza remained inflexible and haughtily refused the invitation;

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and Mr. Wilson thereupon recognized Carranza!

Repeatedly President Wilson, directly and by his representatives, had insisted that what he was working for in Mexico was "constitutional order," "the re-establishment of a constitutional system," "the constitutional reconstruction of the country." Mr. Calero points out emphatically and conclusively that the Carranza Government, which Mr. Wilson has recognized and continues to recognize, is not constitutional. He goes further and shows that it is not efficient. In doing this he quotes that famous passage from Secretary Lansing's note of June 20, 1916, in which the American Secretary of State arraigns, in language more condemnatory than anything that has been said anywhere else, the conditions tolerated under the Government which the President himself has set up.

"It thus appears," says Mr. Calero, "that Carranza was recognized in the precise moment in which his own soldiers were committing sackage, incendiarism, and homicides on American territory; when the authors of these outrages were passing thereafter to Mexico and were enjoying immunity and liberty, notwithstanding their being known to the Carranzista authorities; and when the so-called Government *de facto* and its subordinates not only manifested indifference for these acts, but were *encouraging and aiding* the bandits."

Meantime President Wilson had been negotiating with the bandit Villa, "commending his patient labors" and going so far as to impose, to use Mr. Calero's words, "upon General Scott the humiliating mission of going to appease the brigand." When, therefore, Carranza was recognized, "the indignation of the bandit knew no limits and he swore vengeance. . . . The eighteen victims who were butchered at Santa Isabel, those who fell in the Columbus raid, are victims immolated upon the altars of the imprudent friendship of Mr. Wilson for Carranza."

When Villa's raid upon Columbus followed, President Wilson neither demanded of Carranza, whose Government he had recognized, that the bandit be punished, nor did he break off relations with Carranza and despatch the punitive expedition independently. Instead, he resolved "upon the despatch of the punitive expedition without either obtaining the consent of the '*de facto* government' or breaking off relations with it." And again, when the difficulties of the expedition began to appear, he neither continued it nor withdrew it. And at the very time that Carranza was resisting the advance of the American forces President Wilson's Secretary of State issued a note "in which he speaks of the spirit of friendship and solicitude which animates the American Government for the continuance of cordial relations between both Governments."

One chapter Mr. Calero devotes to what he describes as "the cruel side" of this policy, avowedly based on humanitarianism. And the consequences of this policy he describes, not only in his own words, but in the words of the President, who closes his own description of the situation by saying that "Mexico is starving and without a government."

When the war is ended, the nations of Europe will call for an accounting. Who will then pay for what has happened in Mexico?

To this question Mr. Calero devotes a chapter. It was the United States which refused to recognize Huerta, who had been recognized by European nations. It was the United States that undertook to set up the Constitutionalists. For the consequent losses to Europeans, Mr. Calero says, the United States will be called upon to pay.

The failure of the Mexican policy of President Wilson Mr. Calero attributes to President Wilson's ignorance of conditions in Mexico. Instead of being a true popular struggle for liberty, in which "we would have seen the people unite themselves to the liberating armies," the so-called revolution in Mexico is "the movement of some audacious men, seconded by some men sincere and of good faith and by many merciless brigands, in the face of the absolute passivity and stupefaction of the great mass of the population," for out of fifteen millions of people those who call themselves revolutionists never reached one hundred and fifty thousand men; that is to say, one per cent of the total population. Indeed, not only did the population not support the so-called revolutionists, but it feared them. "The revolutionists entered a place," says Mr. Calero, "and the inhabitants, terrorized, shut themselves up in their houses, concealed their wives and their daughters to save them from the lust of those ferocious beasts, and concealed their properties to save them from pillage."

In assuming that this has been a "fight for the land" President Wilson has acted on a totally wrong impression. There has been only one faction that can be said to be fight-

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ing for the land, and that is the faction led by Zapata, whom both Carranza and President Wilson have opposed.

Thaddeus Stevens and his radical Northern associates in reconstruction days "did not know the region with which they were dealing," says Woodrow Wilson the historian, and "refused to be informed, did not care to know, were in any case fixed upon the accomplishment of a single object." Mr. Calero quotes this passage as a true comment upon President Woodrow Wilson's dealing with Mexico.

In closing Mr. Calero cites the remark of the engineer of a train on which President Wilson was traveling, who said to him in a tone of entreaty: "Mr. President, keep us out of Mexico." "And the President, a profound psychologist," comments Mr. Calero, "referred with delight to what the plain people said through the mouth of the railroad engineer, adding that so long as he should be President he would keep the United States 'out of Mexico'!

"What is meant by the statement that the President has kept the United States 'out of Mexico'?

"It cannot mean," answers Mr. Calero, "that the President has not intervened in the affairs of Mexico—which he has done in the most high-handed and perilous manner; nor does it mean that the United States has not carried on war in Mexico, since the affair of Vera Cruz, that of Parral, and that of Carrizal have cost many more American soldiers' lives than the celebrated naval battles of Manila and Santiago de Cuba."

The avoidance of anything more serious is due, in Mr. Calero's opinion, to the stupidity of Huerta, on the one hand, and to the repeated surrender of Mr. Wilson to the demands of the haughty and stubborn Carranza. The only causes for friction are those occasioned by President Wilson's own policy. The American people, Mr. Calero says, have no occasion to thank President Wilson that there is no war, "when there is no motive for war." Mr. Calero's constructive suggestion is simple: "What ought to have been done, what indeed still must be done, is precisely what Mr. Wilson does not do, which is to abstain from meddling in things which are beyond his legal competency as President and beyond his knowledge as a man."

THE FARMERS' REVOLUTION IN NORTH DAKOTA

STAFF CORRESPONDENCE

"The gophers eat the farmer's wheat,
The bees, they get his honey;
The loan sharks haunt him in his sleep,
And the grafters get his money."

THUS runs the rhyme which flitted through the mind of a North Dakota plowman as he followed the furrow in the early springtime. And he sent the jingle lines to his paper, the "Non-Partisan Leader," at Fargo. Did you ever hear of this periodical? It has about fifty thousand farmer subscribers, mostly in North Dakota, and is one of the most ably edited papers in the country. Back of it is a non-partisan league of forty thousand North Dakota farmers who pay nine dollars apiece into the treasury each year as a fund to secure better economic and political conditions for the people of this far Northwestern commonwealth.

And on the 28th of June last, in a great primary fight within the Republican party, these rugged and embattled farmers swept everything before them and nominated a ticket of their own, from Governor down to constable, pledged to a new programme and a new life for agriculture in the Northwest. In the course of a recent article on "Hughes and the People of the West" (The Outlook for September 20) I referred to this farmers' revolt, and, as I then said, it occurred in the flood time of the present year in North Dakota, and the bridges were down and the streams were swollen. But some farmers tied their clothes on their backs and swam across the opposing stream and some farmers drove as far as twenty-four miles around to get to the primary polling-place and register their will.

When this economic and political storm broke in North Dakota, it broke all at once in the present summer. But it has been brewing for ten years. In fact, it is but the

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latest phase of the agricultural revolution which has been at the basis of much of our progress during the last generation. The Grangers and the Populists are gone, but it would refresh and stimulate many a restive radical and shock many a calm conservative to look into the original programme of the Populists and find how much of it is part and parcel of the legislative history of State and Nation.

The present revolution arose over the marketing of North Dakota wheat, which is about the best in the world. For years a large section of the people of North Dakota seem to have felt that they have been the victims of absentee control and extortion. As soon as their splendid red wheat left the State, in their view it ran into unfriendly elevators, and into what North Dakota seems to regard as the rapacious maw of the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce and the Chicago Board of Trade.

The greatest grievance arose over the grading and the inspection of North Dakota grain. North Dakota farmers had long charged that their splendid No. 1 and No. 2 qualities were mixed with inferior grades of wheat from other States, and so-called "standard" grades established which were not North Dakota standard, but which would pass the subservient political inspectors of Minnesota and force down the fair and just price of North Dakota grain. This is the root of their hostility to those whom they regard as the absentee grain lords of the West.

There has also arisen widespread and often ill-informed suspicion with respect to the speculative dealing in futures which is an important adjunct of the grain as well as of the cotton markets of the world. Like the miners of the country in the weighing of coal, the farmers of North Dakota have been dissatisfied with the weighing of their grain. This has until recently taken place at the top of the elevator, after the suction fan, as it is charged, has winnowed away not only dust and refuse but a by-product of many thousands of dollars' worth of valuable grain every year.

An important item of the North Dakota farmer's budget is the appropriation for hail insurance. He looks across the border in Canada and finds that the Government there furnishes hail insurance to the Canadian farmer for a fraction of the charge in North Dakota.

In the main, therefore, the economic revolution in North Dakota is a part of the whole struggle of the agricultural population of the United States just now for the juster and more efficient distributing and marketing of the basic products needed for our National existence. And the husky independence of North Dakota leads the way—perhaps into extremes. I am not defending the wisdom of all the proposed experiments. The West is a great laboratory where many experiments are tried and fail. But when a great section of the West is asserting a new principle or widely investigating a new grievance, it is worth while for the whole country to take notice of it.

The farmers of North Dakota a few years ago made up their minds to build their own terminal elevators and have their own hail insurance and control their own grain to the central markets. And through the aid of the initiative and referendum, by a large voting majority they requested their own Legislature to levy a tax upon them to build a State-owned elevator. And the Legislature, under the alleged influence of "foreign" grain interests, refused to obey the mandate of the people of the State.

And then came the revolution. One day, just after the Legislature adjourned, a group of plain farmers met together and each contributed $6 toward a Ford car, and in that car went out a committee who secured the funds for another Ford car. And thus onward, until one hundred Ford cars were running silently and measurably swiftly through the State, organizing the farmers against their own Legislature and against the unseen hand that dared to hold their own representatives back from doing the will of the citizenship of the commonwealth.

From the beginning, next to Hiram Johnson's victory in California, it has been the great success of the year in American politics. Although bearing a non-partisan name, it has really been a struggle for the control of the Republican organization and machinery in North Dakota, to make that organization flexible and responsive to the popular will. It is a part of the whole renaissance of Republican liberalism which is coming again out of the West.

The voters overwhelmed the Old Guardsmen, secured control of the organization, and nominated for their Governor Lynn J. Frazier, of Hoople, who has never missed a harvest since he was able to plow at eleven

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years of age, a very successful farmer, and a graduate of the University of North Dakota. This fight is engineered by trained intelligence. In fact, it is the illumination which has come to the farmers of North Dakota through their Agricultural College and their University that has been the undoing of much clever and invisible economic and political control.

Frazier is a ruddy-cheeked, broad-shouldered, quiet, plain-spoken man, about forty years of age, a purely American product, who came up from the sod-house and the pioneer's hardships, and you can tell by looking at him that he is as clean as a hound's tooth. His primary campaign was a wonder. The "organizers" in the Ford cars were the advance agents everywhere of the vast audiences which came to the farmers picnics and the towns and villages through which the "Frazier Special" passed. "We'll stick" was the slogan, and "We'll win" the battle cry. The managers were men who thoroughly understood the psychology of the farmer. And there never was any doubt about the outcome.

There has been vast opposition. The Equity Co-operative Exchange in St. Paul, which has been handling the farmers' grain in competition with the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, has been attacked in the courts, its foes trying to throw it into the hands of a receiver. But nothing worse than some laxness of administration was disclosed, and the case was dismissed. While the trial was in progress in Fargo five hundred farmers paraded the streets before the court-house with a band and banners declaring, "We want an open market." Fierce resentment was also stirred by what the managers of the League alleged was an attempt to tamper with the Faculty of the State Agricultural College in order to secure the dismissal of certain members who had furnished the arsenal of argument and fact upon which the agitation rested.

The programme of the victors includes State hail insurance and State-owned terminal elevators to be constructed in North Dakota. And there is also considerable sentiment favorable to the exemption of all farm improvements from taxation, a variety of the single-tax propaganda. This is an attempt to get after the Eastern man who owns much land in North Dakota and doesn't improve it. And, finally, the programme includes State-owned rural credit banks operated at cost.

North Dakota thinks that the National Rural Credits Act is not particularly useful to herself because it affects only first-mortgage loans. The National Act may help in lowering the rate of interest in North Dakota, but this side of farm indebtedness is not now very acute in North Dakota. But the side of personal credit during harvest time and seed time is acute. And North Dakota believes that this field of personal credit ought to be cared for under State auspices within a safely restricted range of information about debtors, their character and standing in the community.

Although these proposed experiments in North Dakota look towards the extension of governmental ownership and operation, these men are not Socialists. The whole movement is under the control of men who have been Republicans, like Frazier, all their lives long. But it is a determined outburst of the spirit of co-operation and better organization of the life of the American people. They say: "We have learned to co-operate in a simple way; why not in a larger way? If a few of us are able to co-operate, why not all of us, at least in a number of matters very important to our well-being?"

My judgment is that this latest addition to the political propagandism of the country needs intelligent examination, sympathy, guidance, limitation, and perhaps modification, and not attack and misrepresentation. The men of North Dakota are not in danger of becoming a race of Socialists. They are sturdy individualists, with a stake in the soil and stern notions of property rights. But in that commonwealth, as in so many others in the United States, the ruling political class have had narrow vision. It is another case of building a political dam without a spillway, and when the break comes it seems dangerous.

Whether it is permanently dangerous in a political sense depends upon whether it is sympathetically handled by the alleged wise ones in the Republican leadership. For it is a Republican movement; it is in complete control in North Dakota, and it is spreading rapidly through the surrounding States.

FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT.

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THE SOUTH: BACKWARD AND SECTIONAL OR PROGRESSIVE AND NATIONAL?

BY CLARENCE POE

EDITOR OF THE "PROGRESSIVE FARMER," RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

"THE South is backward and sectional."

This has been of late an oft-repeated statement in the magazines and newspapers of other sections. I write to assert, on the contrary, that the South is progressive and National. And I write, furthermore, to express my conviction that the South is to-day the most broadly National section of America.

I

The charge which I seek to repel has been made with regrettable frequency for many years, but in recent months the cry seems to have become a chorus. And I write my reply simply as a plea for that "straight Americanism," that "unhyphenated Americanism," of which we now hear so much. I write as a Southerner in appeal to the men and women of the North for a clearer and fairer understanding of the heart and spirit of their brothers and sisters south of the line. For it is an unfortunate fact that the very people who are saying most about "Americanism" and "American unity" are in many cases the very people who are most often appealing to sectional feeling, and thereby—are they not?—tending to promote Northern distrust of the South. And if there is danger to our Nation in having our newly arrived immigrants temporarily divided into German-Americans, Austro-Americans, Anglo-Americans, etc., how much greater is the danger that would hyphenate our permanent residents into Northern-Americans, Southern-Americans, Western-Americans, etc.?

It is with evidence of restrained euphemism that Mr. F. M. Davenport, in The Outlook recently, uses the expression "chained to a belated political South." One of the most largely circulated American weeklies not only declares that the South is politically backward, but that it is the section of America "where all the attributes of modern civilization, material and spiritual, exist in the smallest degree." And the chairman of the Publicity Committee of one of the two great political parties publishes a two-column official deliverance naming all the Southern men now holding high place in the councils of the Nation, and pointedly reminds "the Union soldier" who "saved" the Union that these men are from "the States which attempted to destroy it."

And the utterances I have just quoted are unfortunately but typical of many others that have recently appeared in publications of National circulation. In the hope that a knowledge of the facts will make for greater National unity and a spirit of broader Americanism, I speak that I do know and testify that I have seen.

II

Let us take, in the first place, the sectional appeal in the present-day references to the ancient strife between the States—those "old, unhappy, far-off things, and battles long ago." The specific allusion I have quoted must have been meant to suggest, if it meant anything, that the South cannot be trusted as other sections might be trusted in loyalty to the great Nation of which it is a part. May I say in answer that my father was a Confederate soldier, that my ante-bellum ancestors were all slaveholders, that my rearing was among people left in poverty after the war, that I have traveled in and discussed Southern questions in every State from Virginia to Texas, inclusive, and that years of my life were spent in a home presided over by a woman whose father was a distinguished Confederate general brought back slain from Antietam, and yet I can truthfully say that I do not recall having once heard man, woman, or child in the South say, "I am sorry we are in the Union rather than in the Confederacy," or "I am sorry slavery was abolished." I voice the common feeling of the South when I say that I am proud that my father fought in the armies of the Confederacy, but I am also glad that the stars in their courses fought against him. I voice the common feeling of the South when I say I believe that under the Constitution secession was an implied right, and that I am not sorry that my father fought for the recognition of that Constitutional law, but I am

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glad that triumph came to that "law higher than the Constitution" which Seward years before had foreseen as the final victor in the "irrepressible conflict."

So far from the South being the most sectional part of America, I weigh my words when I declare my belief that it is in opinion and sympathies the least sectional, the most broadly National, part of America to-day. In other words, I am confident that the South has taken into its heart and has fairly appraised the heroes of the North as the North has not yet received and appraised the heroes of the South. On my father's mantel as I grew up was a bust of his great commander, Lee; on the walls, a picture of Grant. I wonder whether many Northern homes exemplify sympathies so catholic. When I asked a school-boy kinsman a few hours ago what pictures of great Americans were in his school-room, he answered, "Washington, Lincoln, and Lee;" and I wonder how many schools outside Dixie can boast greater freedom from sectional feeling than this typical Southern school. On the night that I read the official political arraignment of "the States which attempted to destroy the Union," it chanced that another Southern editor and I read together with great approval Edwin Markham's magnificent tribute to Lincoln; but I wonder how many readers in other sections have let a tear fall over the poignant heartbreak that throbs eternally through the lines of Father Ryan's "Sword of Lee" and "The Conquered Banner." Go into any Southern high school and you are likely to find pictures of Whittier and Lowell. Do the schools elsewhere recognize in equal measure the genius of Lanier and Timrod? I read "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and nearly every educated friend, like myself, reads some Northern or Western newspaper; I wonder how many men in the North read such a paper as the Columbia "State" with its blending of Southern spirit and National patriotism. When my father-in-law, the late Governor Aycock, spoke here on Lee's birthday, a few weeks before his death, he paused in the middle of his eulogy of Lee to pay a tribute of unrestrained praise to Lincoln; and I wonder whether many orators speaking on Lincoln's birthday pause to inculcate regard for the great Confederate who suffered the crucifixion of his soul in having to choose between Virginia and the Union.

I hope our friends in other sections will pardon me if I have seemed to boast of what I conceive to be the South's genuine freedom from sectionalism. I have mentioned it because I believe the South's real feeling is too little understood and too little appreciated. In fact, I believe it will surprise the average Northerner, though it would not surprise the average Southerner, when he reads my statement that I, a descendant of Confederates and slaveholders, have lived out half my threescore years and ten among these people and their sons without once having heard the wish expressed that the war had ended differently or that Negro slavery had survived. If the South is not too proud to acknowledge the unwisdom of slavery and secession, should the North be too proud to acknowledge the blunders of reconstruction, or to admit that, however mistaken they may have been, the men of the South who felt constrained to oppose the unity of the Nation were not more conscious of unworthy purpose than were our Revolutionary ancestors who felt it their duty to destroy the unity of the British Empire?

Moreover, if the spirit of the South is such as I have honestly sought to describe it in this article, am I not justified in the belief that the true spirit of the North is also found, not in the sectional utterances which have had such unfortunately large publicity of late, but rather in the spirit of Lincoln, with his "malice toward none and charity for all;" in the spirit of Grant, with his "Let us have peace;" in the spirit of McKinley, with his suggestion that the graves of Confederate and Union soldiers alike be the care of the great mother-heart of the Nation, "lamenting all her fallen sons;" in the spirit of Roosevelt, with his splendidly impartial tribute to all "who fought bravely for the right as God gave them to see the right," whether they wore the blue or the gray?

III

I now come to the statement that the South is politically and socially backward and unprogressive. One editor of National reputation goes further, and specifically asserts that "in all the attributes of modern civilization, material and spiritual," the South lags behind other sections. One wonders on what basis so harsh a judgment can be hazarded, but, since it is made, let us examine it fairly.

1. As for wealth and the "material attributes of civilization," it should not be forgot-

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ten, first, that rural States are not usually wealthy, and that we have a predominantly rural section—the one section of America of which it is true that there are more people engaged in farming than in all other occupations combined. In the second place, we have a section whose development was woefully checked by war and its consequences. Here, in North Carolina, for example, it was not till 1890 that the census showed our people with as large a per capita wealth as they had in 1860, though the per capita wealth of the United States in the same period had more than doubled. North Carolina actually had fewer manufacturing establishments in 1890 than it had when Lincoln was elected President. In the next decade, however, the State struck its pace and made a greater net gain in rank among the States in agriculture, manufactures, and population than any other old State east of the Rocky Mountains; nor has it lagged since.

2. As for the "spiritual" attributes of civilization, the matter is one about which it becomes no one to boast; but, since the matter is called into question, it seems not improper to ask the reader to inquire whether he will find anywhere in America a section in which religious influences are stronger than in the South; where the sanctity of the home is more highly regarded (South Carolina alone among the States has no divorce law at all); where commercialism and lust for money are less rampant; where the public service has been freer from graft and corruption; or where such notable progress has been made in grappling with that arch-enemy of all spiritual agencies, the whisky evil. In fact, it would seem as if that great and gifted New England Senator, George F. Hoar, might have anticipated and answered any criticism of the South at this point when he uttered these generous words:

"As I grow older I have learned not only to respect and esteem, but to love, the great qualities which belong to my fellow-citizens of the Southern States. They are a noble race. . . . Their love of home, their chivalrous respect for women, their courage, their delicate sense of honor, their constancy which can abide by an opinion or purpose or an interest for their States through adversity and through prosperity, through the years and through the generations, are things by which the people of the more mercurial North may take a lesson. And there is another thing: covetousness, corruption, the low temptation of money, have not yet found a place in Southern politics."

3. When one says that the Southern States are less progressive than others, it also becomes necessary to establish a just standard for comparison. Leaders of rural progress both here and in Europe, for example, are now laying most emphasis on marketing and rural credits; and North Carolina, a Southern rural State, was the first State in the Union to establish a regular official department to help farmers in marketing their crops; and also the first, I understand, to organize rural credit unions after the fashion of European models. North Carolina has also been conspicuous for leadership in organizing farm women's institutes and farm life schools, while South Carolina has just attracted National attention by its agricultural warehouse system. Both States were also pioneers in temperance legislation. And so I raise the question whether the passage of such advanced agricultural legislation in rural States is not just as truly a mark of progressiveness as the passage of a workman's compensation act in an industrial State like Massachusetts.

4. But is not the Southerner a sinner above all that dwell in Jerusalem in the matter of lynching and unfair treatment of the Negro? it is asked. It is true, 'tis pity, we have some lynchings, but it should be remembered that we not only have two utterly dissimilar races living side by side, but we also have, as has been mentioned, a predominantly rural section, and in all thinly settled rural sections—whether South or West—the absence of police protection promotes a tendency to lynch law. I sometimes wonder, however, whether, in proportion to their numbers, more Negroes are lynched in North Carolina, for instance, than in Ohio or Illinois. Also whether there is more race antagonism between white man and black in the South than there is between white man and yellow in California—or was between white man and red in colonial America. This is said, not to excuse lynching, for I believe nothing can excuse it, but only to give the Northern reader a keener appreciation of the difficulties that confront us in establishing the absolute supremacy of the courts.

5. "But what about child labor laws and laws for compulsory school attendance?" is another question. "There are five States which do not yet have compulsory education

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laws—and they are all Southern," said one writer recently. Here again, however, if we may judge the South not by where it stands but by the direction in which it is going and the speed with which it is moving—the only fair test of the present *spirit* of a people—the charge of unprogressiveness fails. In fact, I doubt whether any similar group of Northern States ever made more progress in compulsory attendance legislation in any five-year period than the Southern States have made these last five years. When the Russell Sage Foundation published its compulsory attendance map in 1912, it showed six Southern States black—signifying that they were without any form of compulsory attendance laws; now there is only one such State, and in the other States of the South these laws have been immeasurably strengthened during this five-year period. As for child labor legislation, it is only fair to the South to say that our industrial development is very recent, and that it takes time to arouse the public conscience to evils arising out of new conditions. Granting that we have not done enough, I doubt whether New England at the same stage of manufacturing development would have done more.

6. In answer to another charge sometimes made against the South, it must be admitted that we have sometimes put rough, primeval, untrained men like Tillman into high office, and some incompetent men. But, granting this, must it not also be admitted that Senator Hoar's tribute to Southern politics was not undeserved—that "the low temptation to money has not found a place" in it? Let the reader call over to himself the names of those Senators and political bosses conspicuous for alliance with special interests and predatory wealth, and ascertain for himself to what extent representatives of this type have come from the South. Moreover, there are evidences on every hand that the average voter is demanding men of broader culture in public office. Arkansas by primary vote has just taken a distinguished scholar from its University, Dr. C. H. Brough, as its next Governor; the Texas primary almost sent a scholar statesman of the same type, Dr. S. P. Brooks, to the United States Senate; while the last ninety days have witnessed the compulsory retirement from Congress of "Cyclone" Davis, of Texas, "Alfalfa Bill," of Oklahoma, and the decisive defeat of Cole Blease in South Carolina.

IV

There is much more evidence that I should like to present, but I hope the facts I have already given will in some measure dispel that seeming distrust of the South whose recent manifestations we have noted with surprise and grief—a distrust due, I am sure, not to any lack of fraternal feeling on the part of people in other sections, but simply to lack of information about the real heart and spirit of the South of to-day. If the test of a section is "not where it stands, but how it is moving," the South is unmistakably progressive, and no section of America is more broadly National or patriotic. And I feel that it will make for a greater America and for a truer Americanism if the people of North and East and West are brought to a realization of this fact. In the language of that unforgetable quotation with which Mississippi's soldier-statesman, Lamar, closed his eulogy of Charles Sumner:

"My countrymen, know one another and you will love one another!"

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WHY I MUST VOTE FOR HUGHES

BY CHARLES J. BONAPARTE

Mr. Bonaparte was Secretary of the Navy and later Attorney-General in President Roosevelt's Cabinet. He has been prominent in furthering the cause of Civil Service Reform, and is a member of the Council of the National Civil Service Reform League. In 1912 he enlisted in the Progressive party, and this year was a prominent figure in the Progressive National Convention. Last month he explained to the Maryland Progressive State Central Committee his reasons for supporting the Republican nominee; and the substance of what he then said is given in this article.—THE EDITORS.

OUR next President will be either Woodrow Wilson or Charles E. Hughes, if the one of them elected in November shall live until March 4, 1917. I believe that our next President may have to deal with an extremely grave crisis in our National life, perhaps with the gravest crisis of our National history. I recognize, therefore, a peculiarly imperative duty, resting upon every good citizen, to lay aside now all partisan or other prejudice, all feeling of disappointment or resentment by reason of what might have, but has not, happened, and to decide for which one of these two men he shall vote after a calm, careful, dispassionate consideration of the public interest. I have done this, and have decided that I must vote for Mr. Hughes.

I am in no wise influenced by the facts that Mr. Hughes is the Republican candidate, and was declared, by a large majority of the Progressive National Committee, the Progressive candidate as well. These facts may very properly have weight with others; with me they have none. I recognize no responsibility for Mr. Hughes's nomination. Nor do I think it material, as affecting me, that he has the support of Colonel Roosevelt and of a very decided majority among those prominent as Progressives during the past four years. In the discharge of my political duties nobody except myself can be my conscience-keeper, and I hold that this question is a question of conscience: With my opinions of President Wilson's character and record, opinions formed deliberately and reluctantly, in consequence only of his public words and acts, can I rightfully aid, directly or indirectly, by action or inaction, in making him our President for another four years? I think I cannot.

Mr. Wilson was nominated in 1912 on a platform which said:

> We favor a single Presidential term, and to that end urge the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution making the President of the United States ineligible for re-election, *and we pledge the candidate of this Convention to this principle.*

It may be that this pledge was unfair or unwise or both; it may be that the Convention had no right to exact it; it may seem to many that Mr. Wilson might have rightfully accepted the nomination and yet openly repudiated the pledge, if he had done so *before* the election; but, to my mind, a man of honor was clearly bound by the pledge when he had acquiesced in it by silence, and had been elected to a great office on the platform containing it without publicly saying a word of dissent.

The same platform declared:

> We favor the exemption from toll of American ships engaged in coastwise trade passing through the Panama Canal.

Mr. Wilson made a speech during the campaign in which he alluded to this plank with approval, and I have reason to believe it undoubtedly gained him votes. After he had obtained the office he sought, he induced the Congress his party controlled to repeal the exemption it and he had expressed and publicly favored before the election.

The same platform set forth:

> The law pertaining to the civil service should be honestly and rightly enforced, to the end that merit and ability shall be the standard of appointment and promotion rather than service rendered to a political party.

"The law pertaining to civil service" has for more than thirty years expressly prohibited consideration of recommendations from Congressmen in appointments to the classified service. There is good reason to believe that thousands of these offices have been filled in accordance with these unlawful recommendations, and because of what the plank calls "service rendered to a political party." The

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Civil Service Commission, with the President's approval, has refused access to its records, which records would show in precisely how many such cases postmasters have been virtually nominated by Democratic Congressmen. Mr. Wilson has always professed to be a very strong civil service reformer, and when he was elected was a vice-president of the National Civil Service Reform League.

Yet another plank of the Democratic platform of 1912 proclaimed:

> The Constitutional rights of American citizens should protect them on our borders and go with them throughout the world, and every American citizen residing or having property in any foreign country is entitled to and must be given the full protection of the United States Government, both for himself and his property.

During Mr. Wilson's term thousands of American citizens have been despoiled of their property, and scores, if not hundreds, of them put to death or shamefully and barbarously maltreated in Mexico. More than a hundred have met violent deaths on the high seas as the result of methods of warfare which he has himself described as unjustifiable under the universally recognized rules of international law. If he has extended "the full protection of the United States Government" or any protection at all to either class of sufferers, if ever, even in a single instance, he has demanded and obtained adequate punishment for those who have murdered or brutally wronged them, the public has not been informed of the fact.

The Democratic platform of 1912 said of itself:

> Our platform is one of principles which we believe to be essential to our National welfare. Our pledges are made to be kept when in office as well as relied upon during the campaign.

Nevertheless the foregoing are by no means all the instances wherein the President and his party appear to have treated it as a "scrap of paper;" they are enough, however, to justify me in saying that I care nothing for the Democratic platform of 1916, and as little for what the President may say before the election he will do after it if elected.

When he came into power, he declared the Mexican President, Huerta, must resign or be deposed, because we could have no diplomatic dealings with one "whose hands were stained with blood." In saying this, he alluded to the death of Huerta's predecessor, Madero, who had met the fate awaiting virtually all deposed rulers in Spanish-American countries unless they can save themselves by flight. It is strenuously denied and has never been proved that Huerta was responsible for Madero's death; but, whatever may be the facts as to that, it is admitted, as well as proved, that Huerta's successor, Carranza, with whom our President has willingly entered into friendly relations, has his hands fairly soaked in human blood, for he has caused or permitted the shooting, in large batches, of hundreds of prisoners taken in the civil war, and the execution, either with no trial at all or with only a sham trial, of a multitude of his political opponents. Mr. Wilson demanded that Huerta, the President he would not recognize because he was so bad, should fire a salute to the American flag, and, upon Huerta's refusal, caused Vera Cruz to be seized by our naval forces, thus becoming responsible for the death of perhaps a score of our sailors and marines and about a hundred Mexicans; after holding that city for a number of months at a heavy expense to the United States, he abandoned it without obtaining the salute. On the other hand, he allowed his protégé Carranza to send some of the latter's followers, in arms, across American territory to attack the forces of another revolutionary leader named Villa, who had been Carranza's *generalissimo* in the war against Huerta, and had afterwards become his rival. This led Villa to make a murderous raid on one of our border towns, and when the President sent what he called "a punitive expedition" in pursuit, his friend Carranza not only impeded its progress in every way he could, but caused a detachment of our soldiers to be treacherously ambushed and a number of the troopers killed; no one has been punished for this outrage.

The fruits of President Wilson's Mexican policy are that Mexico lies prostrate and hopeless, in a welter of anarchy, bloodshed, and brutal oppression; that our border has had to be guarded by virtually our entire regular army and a large part of our organized militia; that our citizens have been murdered, plundered, and subjected to abominable maltreatment with entire impunity; that the lives of our soldiers, sailors, and marines have been uselessly sacrificed; that we are regarded throughout Mexico and by all classes and parties there with mingled hatred and contempt; finally, that our uncalled-for intermeddling in what didn't con-

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cern us has afforded various foreign Powers plausible pretexts to hold us responsible for frequent outrages on their subjects by Carranza and his like. I cannot have on my conscience even a ten-millionth part of responsibility for four years more of this policy.

Early in the year 1915 our Government was notified of the intention of Germany to use the latter's submarines in sinking merchant vessels without previous notice; Mr. Wilson replied by a warning that for any resulting injury to American citizens those responsible would be held to a strict accountability. The Ambassador of Austria, Dr. Dumba, after a conference with Mr. William J. Bryan, then Secretary of State, reported to his Government, in substance, that this warning was not intended seriously; Mr. Bryan says he immediately reported to the President just what had passed between the Ambassador and himself. The immense steamship Lusitania was torpedoed without notice by a German submarine, and about a hundred American passengers, many of them women and children, perished in the waves. Nobody has been held strictly accountable, or accountable at all, for their deaths; on the contrary, the officer commanding the submarine is said, without contradiction, to have been decorated, and I saw this summer a medal apparently struck in commemoration of the exploit.

To secure due regard for our rights as a neutral nation and for the rights of our citizens in the present world-wide conflict it was, and is, of the utmost importance that the language and bearing of our President should induce a reasonable belief that he says what he means and means what he says, so as deservedly to gain for our country the respect and confidence of the nations at war; the language and bearing of Mr. Wilson have had precisely the opposite effect. In the words of a well-known American writer:

> More harmful and more unfortunate than any other word or act was the statement of President Wilson that we might be "too proud to fight." . . . Every nation in Europe laughed. . . . In London the recruiting stations showed pictures of fat men, effeminates, degenerates, and cripples labeled: "These are Too Proud to Fight! Are you?"

I cannot share, even to the extent of a single vote, responsibility for making our Nation an object of contempt and derision during four more years.

In the Democratic platform of 1912 it was said:

> The party that proclaimed and has always enforced the Monroe Doctrine and was sponsor for the new navy will continue faithfully to observe the Constitutional requirement to provide and maintain an adequate and well-proportioned navy sufficient to defend American policies, protect our citizens, and uphold the honor and dignity of the Nation."

This meant the Democratic party, but, even before the election, it became evident that a "Little Navy" faction controlled the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives, and that Mr. Wilson was, at best, very lukewarm in opposition to this faction. When, in August, 1914, the outbreak of the great war caused well-nigh every government in the civilized world to give serious thought to the grave question of national defense, our Government moved not a finger to remedy our complete and notorious helplessness; and in the following December the President, in his address to Congress, urged, in substance, that nothing of moment should be done for the National defense, saying in conclusion:

> I turn away from the subject. . . . There is no new need to discuss it. We shall not alter our attitude toward it because some amongst us are nervous and excited.

A few months later, however, he began to assert that there *was* a "new need" for preparedness, and finally went on a speaking tour in the avowed interest of the National defense. Immediately upon his return from this tour, the Secretary of War, who had become a strong advocate of preparedness and had apparently believed that the President was in earnest, very suddenly resigned; and, after a long delay, was replaced by a gentleman well known to be a pacifist. The Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives, who had always shown himself bitterly and obstinately hostile to preparedness in any rational form, has been since then rewarded for his services to the National defense by a judicial appointment. It is fair to add that a liberal increase to the navy and a considerable, although inadequate, increase to the army have been authorized by the present Congress; but, however others may feel on the subject, I have no confidence in the good faith of preparedness with Mr. Wilson in the White House and his appointees in the Cabinet.

Under President Roosevelt, our Govern-

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ment was intrusted by treaty with the collection of customs in San Domingo, and he and President Taft and their respective Secretaries of State selected the officers employed for this purpose, with no regard whatever for their politics or party. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bryan promptly proceeded, in the words of the latter, to seek, in the Dominican Custom-Houses, "places for deserving Democrats." The behavior of some among their appointees caused so much scandal that, I believe, the practice had to be abandoned; but the National disgrace remains. Only the Republican Senators have saved us from another disgrace; for Mr. Wilson actually agreed to pay the Colombian Government twenty-five million dollars, as the price or pardon for having made the Panama Canal, at our own immense expense, but to the enormous advantage of Colombia itself; and even would have had our country apologize, in the treaty he sent to the Senate, because President Roosevelt had treated a previous attempt to levy this blackmail precisely as it deserved to be treated. I cannot so cast my vote in November as to feel myself a party to future sacrifices of my country's dignity and honor to the greed of spoils-mongers or to gain a petty and doubtful partisan advantage for the President or his party.

I am aware that some Democratic partisans and party newspapers are, or pretend to be, terribly shocked when anything uncomplimentary is said of the President; like the Court divines in the days of Charles II, they hold it a form of blasphemy to suggest that the Chief Magistrate has done, or can do, wrong. It might be enough, so far as they are concerned, to say, as I can with entire truth, that when I formed a part of our Government, these very newspapers and, I have no doubt, these very men and women as well, were ready, nay, eager, to spread any calumny, however silly or shameful, about the President of those days. But I am not interested in showing their inconsistency and insincerity; I wish those now around me to feel assured that, unlike them, I have the same yardstick for all public servants; and I venture, therefore, to trouble you with an extract from a speech I made on May 26, 1902, as President of the Civil Service Reform Association of Maryland. Referring to Theodore Roosevelt, who was then President, although of course with no idea at the time that I might be one day in his Cabinet, I spoke as follows:

> Give him Hail Columbia (not to speak of anything less suitable for public mention) when he does aught that savors of that abuse of public trust for personal or party ends which he has himself so often and so strenuously condemned; if he is the man some of us think him, he will think all the better of us for doing this; but, whatever he or anybody else may think, it is the right thing for us to do, and we have no business here, this Association and its fellows have no warrant for further existence, unless we are ready to do it. Moreover, although we should, so far as may be practicable in reason, learn all material facts bearing on the conduct of a public servant before we blame him, there is no call for encyclopædic research into minute details to justify outspoken censure when this appears, on a fair, sober second thought, well deserved. It is the President's duty, no less than it was Mrs. Cæsar's, to escape reasonable suspicion of wrong-doing. Should he or any other official tell us, "If you knew the facts, you wouldn't blame me," we have a ready answer: "Give us the facts, and we'll see."

On this principle I have spoken, written, and thought of every successive President, and on this principle I think and speak of Woodrow Wilson to-day.

Mr. Hughes is not the man I wished to see nominated for the Presidency. Like the election of Mr. Taft in 1908, like the election of Mr. Wilson in 1912, his election, if he shall be elected, will be in some measure an experiment, and in our present critical position I urged the choice of a man who had been already tried in this great trust and who had made good. But Mr. Hughes's record of public service will make his choice, if he be chosen, at least a promising experiment; and I must give him my vote when the only alternative is to promote, directly or indirectly, the election of a man whose Administration has been, to my mind, a signal and ignominious failure.

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THE HAY-FIELD[1]

BY ELOISE ROBINSON

THE hay-field is one of those ends of mountain meadow won from the Maine forest by what toil I am only beginning to realize as day after day I force my way through deserted lumber trail and deer run of the wildness that hems in this bit of clearing. On two sides the white pines, the balsams, and the birches press to its very edge; on the east it slopes to a rocky, moss-grown valley and the shores of Lower Wilson, with ridges of blue mountain beyond. To the south passes the "county road," a rock-ridden, spring-worn cut through the woods leading east to the lake and west some five miles to the Cove, the metropolis for this part of the world.

It was along the county road that the haying outfit came with great clatter and vociferation and put an end to my morning nap. There were two men and two horses and one of the antiquated high-wheeled mowing-machines. They went to work briskly—the day, even when it begins at half-past four in the morning, is none too long for two men to cut and put into the mow the grass from a meadow of nearly ten acres.

As I work in my tent study I can hear the pleasant click of the mower, rising to sharp, staccato clips as it mounts the ridges, subsiding to a drowsy hum as it recedes into the hollows beyond. After it has made the last dip there is a full moment of bird-filled silence before the first faint sound is audible again as the horses pull up over the rise. The tall hay falls behind the arm of the mower, slipping away like waves that have broken on the shore. What a tumult of color! Gray-green stems of the grasses and their purple-flowered tops, white flash of daisies, the incomparable old-gold of brown-eyed Susans, scattered clumps of lilac field asters and Queen Anne's lace, and, most gorgeous of all, the burnt-orange red of the "paint-brush." No doubt an evidence that the hay is poor, but what a sight for a Giorgione!

I have a strong suspicion, however, that the flash and fall of color that runs so smoothly is the result of a good deal of skill. That field is full of rocks—rocks that lift gray-lichened heads above the grass tassels and the daisies, rocks that are hidden by the stand of hay and hundreds of smaller stones lying ready to snap the blade of the mower. Every few minutes the peculiar, sharp "Whoa! Back! Shuh!" of the driver tells of another danger avoided. How he knows, that smallish man in the violent plaid shirt, where the peril lies is a deep mystery. But even the horses are extraordinarily foot-clever. They step over and around the rocks with the most remarkable sagacity.

The driver is one of the best hay men in this part of the country, so they tell me. However, it is none of our doing that he is mowing the field. Horace Bartlett mowed this field for uncounted years before we appeared upon the scene. He will probably be mowing it long after we have vanished. By use and wont he has won a title to the hay on this meadow, nor can the mere exchange of dollars and a deed between a land agent and a "ferriner" drive Horace from his vested right. It would require a person of more temerity than I to attempt to keep his hay for himself.

Horace, then, drives the cradle. The other man swings the scythe around the edges of the meadow, and in the corners of the stone wall where the coneflowers and the flaunting fireweed grow. Every now and then Horace shouts directions to him across the field. Undoubtedly he is Horace's "help." He is just such a meek-looking man as I should expect any man to be who dwelt under the watchful eye of Horace. It is common property among our countryside gossips that the "help" was one of those rovers who wander through the farming districts once or twice in the summer-time or at harvest when extra men are needed until Horace took him in hand and settled him for once and all, much against his own will. I believe Horace even went so far as to change the name of his protégé. I should not be surprised if the story were true—Hiram has the futile look of a trapped creature. He is meek even with the horses. I hear him saying in his discouraged drawl, with no lift of his voice from its dead level·

[1] See illustration in the picture section.

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"Sordelly, why cawn't yew behave? Look at Lily, now. I reckon, ef yew don't quit yer actin' up, that I'll hev to git a stick en' whallop yew, Sordelly."

Shades of poets! What a name for a horse—Sordello! Does Horace read Browning?

At eleven o'clock they "lay off" for a couple of hours. By this time the hay is all down. They go off up the county road, the harness jingling. Horace casts a weather eye at the western sky as he departs and wags his head grimly. He "ain't noways certain" this weather is going to last over till night. It will keep him busy to save the hay. He looks at me accusingly. He wishes me to feel that the cutting of this hay is a particular and personal favor to me.

After dinner they return with the hay-rack—a clumsy affair with high sides and wedge-shaped pieces sawed from the bed near the front axle where the wheels cut under—and the horse-rake. The horse-rake has one wheel which wobbles dangerously, but Lily pulls it over the ground in good time while Sordello whinnies from behind the hay-rack. Hiram, with an enormous home-made wooden rake, separates into mounds the long ridges of hay that Horace is making the length of the field, and collects the scattered grass from the fence corners.

Then they fall to loading. Horace stands in the rack to catch and pack down what Hiram tosses up to him. Hiram, of a sudden, seems endowed with new life. He flies at the piles of hay as if his life depended upon demolishing them. Slowly the reason for his amazing energy dawns upon me. Horace is having a hard time to manage the flying forkfuls of hay, to pack them evenly and solidly so that the load will not slip, and to keep from being smothered. He fights valiantly to hold his own, his arms working like flails. But in the end he is forced to cry enough.

"Holy smoke! W'at yew doin'?" he calls out. "W'at yew mean by pitchin' like that? Go slower, cawn't yew?"

Hiram "goes slower." About his thin lips there is almost a smile. The "help" has outpitched Horace. I am sure that they will hear of his triumph at the village store to-night. Hiram is tasting revenge, and even to him it is sweet.

Three, four loads they take away. Beyond the gate they are outside my ken, but my imagination follows them. I confess to a longing for the thrill that ride would bring—with Horace, not a driver less clever, at the reins. How do they manage to keep the low-bending birches and maples and the spiky alders that all but meet across the road from tearing away half the load? And how does Horace pass, with the towering load of hay and two big horses, the stretch of road where a landslide has left but room enough for a buckboard to go circumspectly? Or the bridge, where the torrent last week washed away one plank and twisted the others? Or that gully worn by the spring through the road?

Yet evidently they go in safety. With the fifth loading the hay-field is empty. Horace pauses on his way home, just at sunset, to gossip a little.

"A fine day for haying, Horace."

"Wal, middlin', middlin'."

"That's a good job you made of that field. There's more of an art in cutting hay than I thought before I saw you do it."

Horace's eye brightens. "They is, they is," he says with conviction. "But then, they's a right way of doin' 'most anything. I like t' leave my field smooth an' my corners clean."

He lingers a few minutes longer discussing crops and partridges and his neighbor's new barn, and then they go home. The rattle and bump of the wagons die off down the road. The loons on the lake begin their eerie calling, and the fragrance of the new-cut field comes up, laden with dew.

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THE WALKING DELEGATE

A Story of the Trouble at Hattie's Gulch—The Dour Scot—On the Edge of a Strike—The Plausible Tale that Wasn't Written—How the Walking Delegate Made Peace

BY TYLER DENNETT

MY new neighbor was a walking delegate.

At first he had told me that he was the secretary-treasurer for the unions of his craft in our district, but when that term had failed to explain itself he acknowledged his real identity.

Our growing acquaintance led eventually to his promising that some time, when he had in hand a situation which would illustrate his duties, he would take me along as an observer. A few months later we set out together one morning for the Columbia coal mine at Hattie's Gulch. The first leg of our journey was by train, but after three hours of that we alighted at a narrow-gauge junction and set off up the track, twelve miles into the mountains. We talked of many things, as travelers will, but chiefly of himself and of the machinery in which he was, for the moment, a rather important cog.

My friend had been raised in the coal mines of Pennsylvania. He was one of a dozen children of Welsh parentage, and had been graduated from school to the breakers at the mature age of eight; after that, no schooling except as he had studied alone, and except for the further fact that he had married a school-teacher. Those are the bare outlines of his history. You may fill them in, if you will, with the romance and perseverance which had carried him to the point where he could marry, at the age of twenty-two, one who had enjoyed cultural advantages so much greater than his own. I knew his wife. They were not an ill-mated pair.

The machinery of a coal miners' union is not very complicated. Each year the various locals in a given district send delegates to a convention where they meet the representatives of the operators and together draw up their annual contract. When the terms have been agreed upon, the contract is signed by both parties and becomes binding for a year. Each year the document contains a clause specifying how either side shall proceed in case of disagreements during the year. There are three checks on a possible strike or lockout. Each mine has its pit committee and its pit boss. Through their committee the miners are instructed to carry their grievances to the boss. Should this appeal fail, the mine is still a long way from a strike. The union is bound by its contract to continue work, but meanwhile to send for the official representative of the affiliated unions of that district—in other words, for the walking delegate. He comes to the mine, reviews the complaints of the miners, and, if he thinks that the contract has been violated, seeks to take up negotiations with the pit boss's superior officer, the mine superintendent. Even when this appeal has failed, no strike can be called until the case has been carried up to a still higher court. The walking delegate calls for an official of the international organization, which represents the combined forces of all the unionized coal-miners of the United States and Canada. This official asks for a conference with the owners or lessees of the mine. Only after these last negotiations have failed can a strike be called, and even then it is not the local union which calls the strike. The order must come from the international headquarters.

Of course the opponents of labor unions maintain that this elaborate course of procedure, in which the handling of the business is so quickly removed from the hands of the local union, merely affords jobs for agitators and makes easy an interference from the outside between the employer and his employees. By the other side it is claimed that such a course of procedure imposes certain checks on hasty and ill-considered action, and that it supplies the employer with a representative of his employees in whom the latter have confidence, and who at the same time is likely to be a man of larger vision and better judgment than the employees of the mine would be able to select. This story is told to show how the union mechanism works out in a concrete application.

At length we crossed the bridge and marched up the main street of Hattie's Gulch,

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also the only street, and at the same time the railway track. The walking delegate started off to interview what few men there were working above ground, while I strolled about the camp.

Hattie's Gulch was not imposing from a residential point of view. The denuded hills sloped down to make a trough which was blocked at the upper end by another hill. On one side stood the company store, the bunk-house, and the eating hall, which proclaimed itself by means of its unsavory kitchen. Across the track in the half-cleared thicket of young trees was a scattering of shacks to house the few married workers of the camp. Beyond were the piles of soft coal, the power-house, and the entrance to the mine. There was nothing more to the Gulch.

When the shift poured out of the mine at five o'clock, I followed the men into the wash-house. The bathing facilities were in keeping with the general style of the camp, crude and filthy. They were also quite in harmony with the language of the miners as they jumped under the showers and let the ice-cold water wash rivers of white in their sooty backs. The men were evidently in a bad humor. Everywhere was abuse, vile language, and coarse horse-play.

"This is the rottenest camp in the State," remarked the walking delegate in my ear, for he had followed me into the wash-house. "There is always trouble here—little things which irritate the boys and keep them stirred up. It certainly looks as though there were going to be something doing to-night."

The immediate cause of the trouble which had brought us to the camp was as follows: Columbo, a miner, had lodged a complaint that Andy Fergus, the pit boss, had cheated him. The pit committee had been to Andy, but Andy, dour Scot that he was, had refused to discuss the matter. Hence the call for the walking delegate.

We had found the Gulch in an uproar. Columbo had merely touched the match for a long-impending conflagration. Each miner had his own pet grievance. Every one of them was on edge for trouble. While we stood in front of the store, a few moments later, a wild-eyed man came rushing out of one of the shacks to demand of the store-keeper why the meat his wife had bought for dinner had proved to be bad. Only the superior position of the husky clerk, intrenched as he was behind the counter and armed with a meat-ax, prevented a fight. That incident is a fair illustration of the temper of the Gulch.

The walking delegate had already played all his trumps. He had been to the superintendent, and the latter had refused to confer. "Very well," said my friend, repeating the conversation to me; "you know we are asking only for what our contract demands. Either you confer or I will telegraph the International office and we'll pull the boys off the job inside of forty-eight hours." The superintendent knew that the threat was no idle boast, and therefore he yielded, delegating Andy as his representative to a conference to be held after supper.

I can quite understand how the superintendent might at this point in the story have gone into his office and written out a very plausible damnation of the walking delegate who had come into his camp and dictated how he should manage his business. He preferred to deal with the men individually. Then, if they had struck, he could have starved them out in a few days.

I was permitted to join the group which donned the miners' caps after supper and solemnly marched, single file, down into the mine to the precise spot where Columbo had had his trouble. There, where a lateral tunnel was being thrown off from the main shaft, we squatted on our heels, the pit committee, the pit boss, the walking delegate, and myself. It seems that Columbo had been ordered to start the digging on the new lateral. He claimed that he had been ordered by Andy to make it an extra width for the first sixteen feet. Andy claimed that the extra width had been ordered for only twelve feet, that Columbo had made a stupid mistake, and was therefore not entitled to extra pay for the additional four feet.

The committee produced a tape measure and duly measured the distances. Andy called their attention to the fact that it was customary to widen the laterals where they branched off from the main shaft for only twelve feet. The pit committee agreed and did some more measuring. They had never known of sixteen feet instead of twelve being ordered. Then Andy called them to witness that there were no unusual conditions at that point which would call for any departure from the usual custom. The committee was made up entirely of practical miners. They were compelled by the facts to agree with Andy. The walking delegate said nothing

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except that when the members of the committee were inclined to depart from the topic under discussion and raise the question of other grievances he quickly called them back and insisted that they stick to the matter in hand. At length the committee decided that Columbo was wrong, even that he had probably tried to hold up the boss for what he really knew was his own mistake. Solemnly the meeting adjourned and the members retraced their steps to the exit from the mine.

To a silent observer it all seemed very simple. The walking delegate had merely brought together two differing parties in a conference which would never have taken place but for the fact that he had back of him the power to enforce it. Now every one would be satisfied and further trouble avoided.

This judgment was premature. I had not realized the complexity of the situation.

Up on the side of the hill, just above the line which marked the limits of the mine property, the miners had built out of rough boards and tar paper a labor temple. As we emerged from the mine we saw its lights glimmering through the brush and heard the babel of the miners' rough voices. The union was in session, waiting for the report and the verdict. From the bursts of argument we knew, even at a distance, that the assembly was turbulent. We also knew how unwelcome the report would be. It was one thing to decide down there in the quietness of the mine that Columbo was wrong; it was quite another to go before him and his brother miners in an open meeting and tell them so. This latter task fell to the walking delegate.

Two other circumstances made the situation still more delicate. It was the votes of these miners that had helped to elect the walking delegate to his present office, and it was their contributions that helped pay his salary. He was always in danger, as he had previously told me, of being accused of having been "bought out" by the mine operators. Then, too, the meeting he was to address was not merely angry. It represented a sub-normal order of intelligence. The chairman was a broken-down Englishman of evident intemperate habits and frazzled temper. The members of the union were a motley collection gathered from the four corners of Europe, the southern and eastern races predominating. Most of them were recent immigrants, crude and ignorant. Their common irritation was the nearest they had to a common language. Their general appearance led me to suspect that they were miners below the general average of their occupation, whose incompetence and intemperance had made it impossible for them to secure or hold jobs in other and better-furnished camps.

The walking delegate was immediately introduced, and began his address. He spoke in English, slowly, to the accompaniment of the low mumble of multiplied translations as the men helped each other with the difficult words and phrases. The speech lasted nearly an hour. It was not oratory, although the words were selected to a degree remarkable for one who had finished his education in the coal-pit. In the simplest terms the speaker established his points of contact, pointed without boasting to his loyalty to their interests, made a joke now and then, and, at the right moment, told them that their own committee had decided that not Andy, but their own Columbo, was wrong.

There was one tense moment, but the walking delegate quickly jumped the chasm and continued: "Nevertheless, you boys have some real grievances. This camp is rotten. Any fool can see that, but—" and here he squared to look his audience straight in the eyes—"but the trouble with your grievances is that they are not covered by your contract. Last year you made a bum contract with the operators. That's what's the matter with Hattie's Gulch.

"You sent a bunch of hotheads down to the convention. They thought they knew it all. They were going to get everything for you. If the operators had granted all the things those fellows wanted, they might just as well have turned the mines over to you fellows and quit. Your men asked for too much. The result was that the operators refused to give in and you got a great deal less than you really deserved.

"Now one of the things I have come up here to tell you is that it is time for you to get busy thinking about your next year's contract. What are you going to ask for? Who are you going to send to the convention? You ought to begin now to pick out the best men you have. Send men that can make a good contract, and then when you send for me next year I can come up here and pull the contract on the officials and they'll have to drop."

It was a bold stroke, executed with skill, and successful. The meeting accepted the report and turned immediately to the discussion of the contract for the coming year.

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Who else in Hattie's Gulch could have handled the situation that night? Not the superintendent, not stubborn old Andy Fergus, not any one in the employ of the mining company. Nor could the miners themselves have curbed their own dull-thinking belligerency. Only the man from the outside, the interferer whom the operators dread, but the man who had the confidence of the miners and at the same time understood the sound principles of the labor movement, only such a man could have restored peace to Hattie's Gulch.

The story of the settlement of the labor trouble at Hattie's Gulch was never published. Why? It wasn't news. There was no strike, no rioting, no gunmen, no bloodshed. It was not more news than that nine hundred and ninety-nine citizens in every thousand in this country continue daily to obey the law and live in reasonable peace with their wives and neighbors. On the other hand, when a Sam Parks betrayed his trust, was caught and convicted, that was news, properly so, and published so widely that his name became the synonym for walking delegate among a great many people who draw their judgments of the labor movement only from the headlines in the daily press. To such people the words labor union and strike are indissolubly associated, whereas, statistically, they belong no nearer together than marriage and divorce.

May I draw your attention once more to the meeting in that crude labor temple up there in Hattie's Gulch? It lasted another hour. The significance of the scene grew on one. Here were representatives of some twenty or thirty widely divergent and somewhat antagonistic racial groups voluntarily drawing together, formally addressing each other as "Brother," and learning to think together. They were submitting to the rules of parliamentary law, not always gracefully, but submitting nevertheless. I saw one countryman of Columbo's rising to speak a second time on a question while some of his brothers were still waiting for their first chance to speak. The chairman declared him out of order and refused to recognize him. Seized with sudden rage, he grabbed his hat from his head, threw it on the floor, and began to jump on it. I have often seen a seven-year-old boy act the same way when he discovered that the rules of baseball permit the batter to have only three strikes at the ball. His fellow-members yelled the miner down and a friendly brother whispered to him the explanation which made his dumb mind content. I saw those sluggish minds trying to grapple with some of the huge problems of economics. Each moment was impressing them with the necessity of learning to speak the language of the land in which they had chosen to make their homes. The men were hard at work learning the principles of representative action. They were a voluntary night school in democracy, teaching themselves the essentials of citizenship.

This illustrates another phase of the labor movement often too little considered. The American Federation of Labor alone represents over twenty-two thousand such groups of men. Not all of them are so unskilled or so untrained as the one in Hattie's Gulch, but many of them are. If they were all to be abolished to-morrow, whence could we supply the training in citizenship and democracy which they now give each other in their weekly meetings? What other combination of self-interest and brotherhood would be sufficiently strong to drag their tired bodies out to school and cause them to submit to this discipline which they now gladly receive?

I am not unaware that this story leaves many loose ends. It is, of course, hard to make an illustration prove a point. Possibly the incident in Hattie's Gulch was in some way exceptional. Certainly the walking delegate does not always find that Columbo rather than Andy is wrong. On the other hand, the delegate who calmly walks into a camp and deliberately stirs up trouble in order to maintain himself in the confidence and affection of the members of the union is not typical, as he is often supposed to be; but nearer to type is the delegate who, like my friend at Hattie's Gulch, furnishes not only to the men but also to their employers the most efficient available means for settling what threatens to be serious trouble.

This much seems certain. When two groups of men stand facing each other and a fight is started by either side, it is only a matter of minutes when the beefiest, most pugnacious fighters will be in the front rows facing each other and directing the struggle. If, on the contrary, the two groups begin negotiations instead of a fight, in a few moments the men with the coolest, keenest heads from either side will be facing each other and in control of their respective parties. The exceptions to this statement are, I believe, so few as to be negligible, and that is the point of the story.

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THE READER'S VIEW

MR. HUGHES AND THE RAILWAY ISSUE

Whether one agrees with Mr. Hughes or not, his speeches on the railway eight-hour day are at least refreshing. Their vigor and definiteness are a striking contrast to the vague and ineffectual oratory of the Western tour. At last he seems to have found his cue; his hesitation vanishes, and he grasps this new issue with the same passion with which Colonel Roosevelt condemns the invasion of Belgium. It is not candidate Hughes who speaks; it is the man himself. There is sincerity, and not the pale compromise to hold votes; there is clearness, and not the dull rhetoric about "firmness," "America first," and "America efficient." These speeches are hints of what campaign speeches might be if candidates talked frankly and gave us their instinctive and spontaneous reactions to current issues instead of the enforced platitudes and tedious repetitions of blind partisanship.

More than this, however, cannot be said. When Mr. Hughes charges that President Wilson and Congress acted under the pressure of threats, he misunderstands the actual facts. The brotherhoods did not say to the President and to Congress, You must legislate for us or we will strike. They said to the railways, You must grant the eight-hour day or we will strike. Congress and the President were not threatened; they were not coerced or obliged to do anything. They could have remained stoically passive; they could have regarded the whole matter as a "private fight" and simply prepared to maintain "order" and "protect property."

Instead they "butted in." Perhaps, as the learned counsel for the Interborough Railroad insists, they had no right to do so; perhaps they did not legislate wisely or completely; but there can be no doubt that from the time the President called the first conference to the signing of the law it was a voluntary action. Of their own choice they attempted to avert a crisis to save the country from a disastrous calamity. An unprecedented struggle was imminent, and they intervened. Two courses remained open: to forbid the strike or to grant an eight-hour day. The first, under the circumstances, was impossible and uncertain; no amount of firmness—even of the Rooseveltian brand—could have passed such a law; the second course, which was possible, and the effects of which could be foretold, was followed. They granted the eight-hour day because the men would have legally taken it from the railways by a successful strike. By acting quickly Congress made the use of this force unnecessary. This was the very essence of the "rule of reason." For, if that means anything, it means facing facts and accomplishing by rational action what would otherwise be accomplished by explosive action. Between an eight-hour day obtained by the inevitable strike or by legislation, there could be no reasonable choice. There was no sacrifice of the principle of arbitration in this; that had never been established by law or custom for industrial disputes. Indeed, the Adamson Bill gave the country a breathing spell in which to collect its thoughts and decide whether compulsory investigation and arbitration should be adopted for the future. There was no "abject surrender" in this act; there was a successful rescue of the public from starvation and horror and death. Our legislators were too sensible to "haggle with an earthquake."

The inability of Mr. Hughes to see this is due to the fact that he really denies the right of the brotherhoods to strike. He allows his own judicial passion for arbitration to obscure the fact that the railway men have a perfect legal right to strike. He confuses what should be with what is. He fancies a world in which capital and labor need but to be told that they are "all Americans" and then good will towards men will follow. But the President and Congress did not make this mistake. They realized that the brotherhoods were ready to act according to their legal rights. That this involved force was not the fault of the brotherhoods; it was the fault of a stupid legal system which permitted organized labor to resort to it. However that may be, it is futile to denounce the use of force when that is the established principle of action in the industrial world. That it should not be is the hope of all, but that does not justify us in acting as if strikes were impossible. Mr. Hughes is really speaking on industrial disputes as Mr. Bryan does on international disputes. They both hate to admit that strikes and wars are the order of the day. As a result, Mr. Hughes bewails the resort to strikes, but does not know how to prevent them except by "firmness," while Mr. Bryan moralizes sentimentally about war and offers nothing but arbitration treaties.

The big misconception, however, in Mr. Hughes's speeches is the exaggerated importance he gives to the whole episode. Even assuming that Congress had actually been held up and forced to pass the Eight-Hour Law, surely that would not be a startling innovation in our Government. It would not be the first time that force has been used to pass or obstruct legislation. If it is a blow at democracy, we have already withstood thousands of even a more serious and pernicious nature. If it does subvert our free institutions, then these would long

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ago have crumbled into ruin. For, if anything is obvious, it is that force has constantly dominated our Government. What, for instance, prevented the confirmation of the nomination of Rublee for the Federal Trade Commission? Force, pure and simple. Senator Gallinger did not make use of his "sweet reasonableness." He did not convince the Senate that Rublee was not adequately equipped for the job. He did exactly what the robber does who says, Hold up your hands! He threatened to "kill" the nominees of the other Senators unless his revenge in this matter could be satisfied. Incidentally, Mr. Hughes has not denounced this use of force, and yet it is incomparably the more dangerous to democracy. What prevented the passage of the Child Labor Act until 1916? Did the "rule of reason" govern the Senators from Pennsylvania and the South? They voted exactly as the manufacturing companies of their States dictated. What makes Congress pass "pork-barrel" appropriations? The force of bipartisan selfishness. What passed the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Bill? The force of special privileges. What prevented the nomination of Roosevelt in 1912 and 1916? The force of partisan and selfish interests. So it is all along the line. If you but dig into the forces behind the Acts, whether it be an appointment, a delayed Child Labor Act, or other remedial legislation, you will find the pressure of forces, silent and invisible perhaps, but powerful. Laws which are good are strangely obstructed and die in committee rooms, and queer jokers often emasculate those which are passed. It is not the handiwork of reason. Our delayed reforms, our halting progress, our "pork barrels," our denial of democracy—all this is the result of the use of force. It may masquerade under the name of reverence for the Constitution or the courts, defense of private property, right of contract, "our free institutions," and what not, but the weapon is the same. Legislatures and Congress are not convinced, they are compelled.

If now labor unions should adopt similar tactics, they would but imitate the practice of their "masters." This may not be desirable, but surely it is naïve for us to decry the use of force on the part of the laborer when the employer has everlastingly used it both in his private business and in his dealings with the Government. If "our free institutions" have borne up under the assaults of organized wealth, they can certainly stand a little hammering from the other side. By making the shoe pinch on the other foot the labor union may bring us to our senses.

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"HELP FOR THE FARMER"

In a recent issue of The Outlook there appeared an article by the Hon. Carl Vrooman, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, upon the subject "Help for the Farmer." The article set up the claim that in the last three years the Department of Agriculture, under Democratic administration, had done great and numerous things to help the farmer make more money, and charged that the Department under Republican direction had ignored the economics of farming and devoted its attention to abstract science, which "buttered no parsnips" for the real farmers.

A list of alleged achievements of the last three years was used to illustrate the claim, but in every instance the credit belonged to the Republican Administration. For example: The fever tick, which prevented the South from raising meat animals, was driven out of half its infested area before President Wilson was elected. Hog cholera serum was discovered years before the Democratic Administration. The office of Markets and Rural Organization was created by a Republican law, signed by President Taft, and the work was installed by Dr. Thomas N. Carver, the foremost agricultural economist in America, a Republican. Dr. Carver labored, too, successfully in organizing farmers and making them independent of middlemen, purchasing their supplies directly from manufacturers in car lots. The Assistant Secretary of Agriculture sent out letters to comfort the middlemen by assuring them that Dr. Carver's effectiveness would be curbed; it was, and he returned to his work as Professor of Economy in Harvard.

When the present Administration took over the Department, it found an army of fourteen thousand highly organized workers, of whom three thousand were scientific specialists. They were engaged in works of research, many of which have brought results in the last three years. When the Department was taken over in 1897 by Secretary James Wilson, he found no organization, and his predecessor, Hon. J. Sterling Morton, a Democrat, had recommended that the Department be abolished. The McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft Administrations, with James Wilson, Secretary of Agriculture through all three terms, created the greatest agricultural system the world has known, and gave farmers definite knowledge in place of tradition; farmers no longer plant potatoes according to the moon. The momentum of that organization has carried it through the last three years without the addition of a single important enterprise of Democratic initiation.

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BY THE WAY

A farmer, according to the "Rural New Yorker," drove to the public market in a certain town with vegetables and fruit for sale. A girl passed his stand, went to a grocery store and bought two cans of tomatoes and carried them home. For the price of these two cans this farmer was ready to sell a large basket of fresh and sound tomatoes—right from the vine. The farmer thinks that the biggest asset of the middlemen is just that quality in the consumer which sent the girl past him after the canned goods.

In a private letter written "somewhere in France" a surgeon with the British army gives this graphic description of the strenuous life of an erstwhile quiet city physician: "An attack was on for next day. Mines, minnewerfers, shelling. It was simply hell for twenty-four hours. Intense 'strafing' on both sides. The trenches were littered with cases. I had 120 cases and was certainly of use. Had a smack on the hand dressing one. Just a scratch. Our candle was blown out every now and then by the concussion of the high explosives. We got down all right yesterday, however, and slept in a wood in a captured German dugout."

"Is he a good after-dinner speaker?" asks "Life," and answers its own question thus: "Splendid! He never talks more than five minutes, and when he gets through he makes you feel that you could have done much better."

"The Humane Monday Germans" is a headline that arrests attention. Why should they be more humane on Monday, one reasons, when "blue Monday" is a proverbial expression for irritation and sourness? The explanation is simple. The writer in "Collier's" who uses the above heading is describing the city of Baltimore. One of the institutions of that city is the Bachelors' Cotillion, perhaps the oldest dancing club in the United States. The balls given by this society are known as the "Monday germans," and their humane feature is that they end at midnight, instead of keeping the poor tired débutantes up till dawn.

The fact that automobiles are surely getting into everybody's hands is brought home by an advertisement in the "Situations Wanted" columns of a New York City paper. It reads: "Laundress wishes private family washing; open air drying in country; automobile delivery; reasonable prices. Address," etc.

A Japanese hunter of big game writes to the "National Sportsman" about hunting in Korea. He says of an animal called the "nukattei:" "In Korean language this means 'wolf,' and it is the most fiercest and terrible or quick active wolf in the world. He is the most large-damage maker to live stock and human life in Korea; can be met so easier than in any other country." He asks for information on this point: "How to prevent the terrible damage of large beast when a dangerous game lion, tiger or leopard charges at me, so near, before I have time to receive another loaded gun from gun-bearer?" This would seem to offer a favorable opportunity for the use of jiu-jitsu, it is respectfully suggested. An American hunter would probably use a bowie-knife if he had one.

Two of Thackeray's characters are to be presented on the stage this season. John Drew will be seen as "Major Pendennis," and Sir Herbert Tree as "Colonel Newcome." Mrs. Fiske, it will be recalled, made "Becky Sharp" famous on the stage in a play of that name.

A poultry raiser who specialized on capons writes to the "Country Gentleman" that he found that his nearest market, Detroit, had not yet become habituated to that luxurious diet. He makes this amusing comment: "Even though the automobile business has produced a large and ever-increasing class of wealthy men, their epicurean tastes seem to stop with gasoline. There are probably less than 300 families in Detroit who serve capon on their tables at regular intervals. The only demand is among the larger hotels. The supply is far greater than the demand." But at present high prices for market luxuries, a city that has three hundred families with the capon habit ought not to feel despondent.

Jules Verne's famous story, "Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea," a prophecy of the submarine, is to be dramatized for the movies. A submarine a hundred feet long, accommodating forty persons, has been built specially for the job. Under-sea pictures have been taken in large numbers, it is said, with this boat figuring as Captain Nemo's craft, in the vicinity of Jamaica. The actors who appear in the play are clothed in diving costumes and work at depths of from thirty to forty feet below the surface. It is reported that the submarine used in this work, the Nautilus, has been seized by British cruisers as a possible German *Unterseeboot*.

An interesting photograph showing the preparation of Indian relics for exhibition, published in The Outlook for September 27, was credited by mistake to the Museum of Natural History, New York City. It really represented work of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. This museum, which will soon have a fine building of its own in New York, will house a mass of relics dealing with primitive man in North America, collected during many years by Mr. George G. Heye, of New York.

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